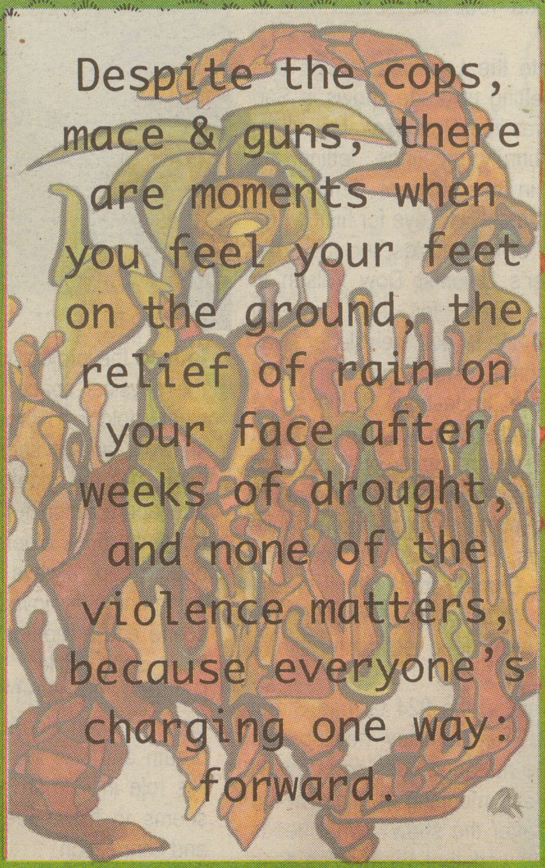
SLINGSHOT

# PRAXIS IN RETROSPECT

## On the Battle of Willow River

By M.O.T.H Collective



Despite the cops, mace & guns, there are moments when you feel your feet on the ground, the relief of rain on your face after weeks of drought, and none of the violence matters, because everyone's charging one way: forward.

*"If you dare to struggle you dare to win. If you dare not to struggle, goddamnit you don't deserve to win. Let me say this: all power to the people." -Fred Hampton*

When Enbridge's Line 3 pipeline crossed the Mississippi, we knew we couldn't let them take the Willow River without a fight. On July 3, protestors in black and green bloc constructed a barricade on a road leading to a pipeline easement and flooded past security. The pipeline workers cleared out and sat in their trucks, smoking cigarettes, scrolling through twitter, expecting another—now typical—three to four hour machine lockdown. On the outside of the construction site, we built barricades out of tires, car doors, rebar, barbed wire, and wood debris at two chokepoints. At a third barricade, two people locked into a painted car at the entrance blocking workers from getting in.

The element of surprise delayed the cop response time. Before police were able to arrive, the Horizontal Directional Drill's control box was ripped out and its electrical power cords sliced. For a week or so after the action, the sound of metal cutting into the earth didn't pierce the air. For a while, they were set back.

What happened at the Willow River demonstrated how much damage was and could be done to ecocidal infrastructure by a few dozen autonomous actors. Guerrilla warfare — as a model for nonviolent civil-disobedience — never seeks to overcome the enemy by strength or numbers. With any future resistance to this pipeline and others like it, organized resistance can pick targets, concentrate a large enough number of people at a weak point, hit hard, and then disperse under the cover of their surroundings. Mao sums up the principles of asymmetrical warfare against an occupying force: "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue."

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The July action came a few hours before the Line 3 "Four Necessity Valve Turners" would appear before a judge for the very last time. Valve Turning is a direct action tactic that involves safely and forcibly turning the emergency shutdown valves of pipelines. As

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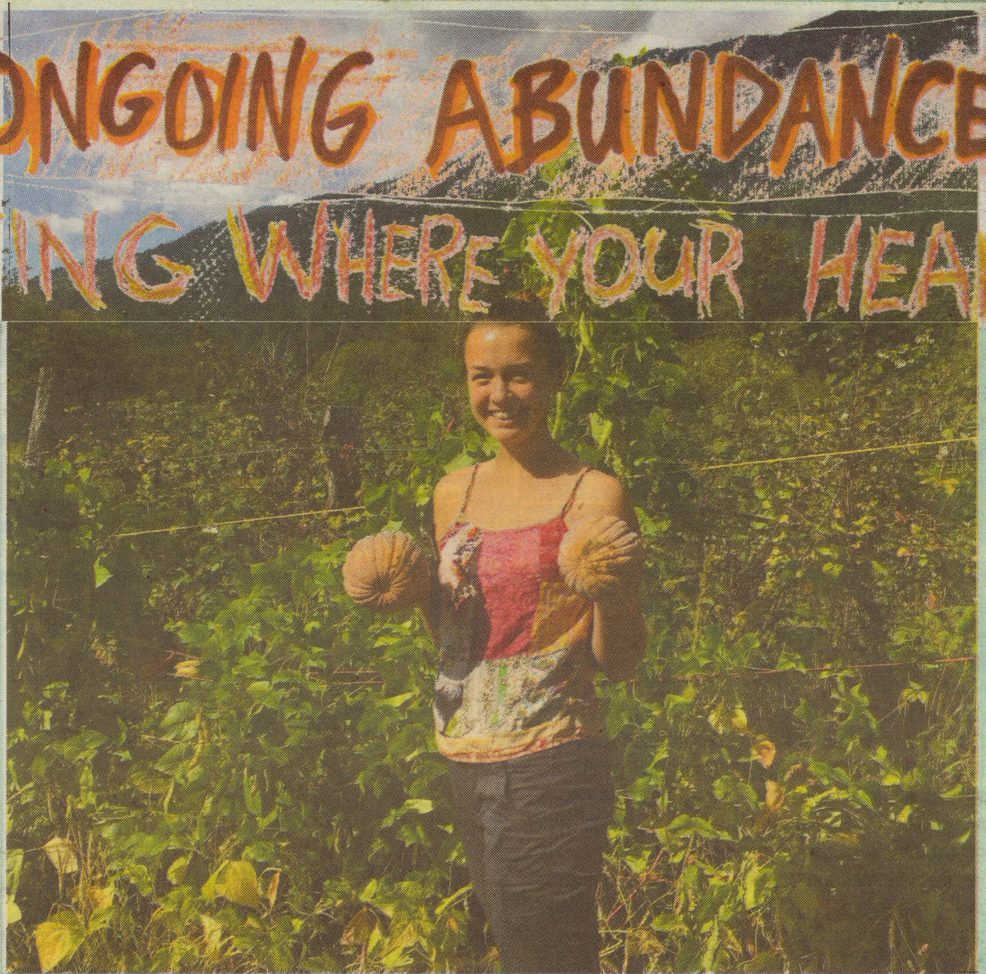
## ONGOING ABUNDANCE

## WORKING WHERE YOUR HEART IS

By Abigail M



I'm sitting on what used to be a car seat, torn-out and tanned by the Arizona sun. It rests against a school bus, perhaps its past home, that is half engulfed by the earth with cob walls guarding its entrances. Around me, makeshift abodes — some on wheels, tiny homes, tents, cob houses bedazzled with bottles and other odds and ends — giant water collecting towers, attempted hydroponic greenhouses, a composting toilet, and solar panels decorate the landscape. This is what I call home, or as the owner calls it: The island of misfit toys. A collection of characters color in between the lines; everyone here comes from their own pasts, all around the world, with different beliefs and passions, yet we've found ourselves in what seems to be the middle of nowhere, this homestead and ecological sanctuary.

About two months ago, I set off on my first solo cross-country trek. The mission: To mess up. What I mean by *mess up* isn't terribly clear: I wanted to push the boundaries of what it means to live in the United States; I didn't want the next cookie cutter step — graduate college, get a job, get a house, work until you can't — and I certainly didn't want to stay complacent, stagnant, during the burgeoning ecological crisis. So, I decided to WWOOF. WWOOFing stands for Willing Workers on Organic Farms and is a worldwide initiative to connect people to organic farms, provide an educational platform for more earth-focused agricultural practices, and to build community.

More than anything, I wanted to rid myself of this ongoing sense of disempowerment, devastation, and dread. Nowadays, these are normal responses to our institutionally-dominated sphere where nature is cast aside, along with human wellness. Sustainability, beyond its denotation, its buzz-wordiness for green-washing corporation's intentions and profit, is inherently an intersectional outlook: the well-being of the natural world is inexplicably linked to the well-being of humanity.

WWOOFing is a radical style of life. Radical meaning *root*. When it comes to getting to the root of climate change, it is essential that we look at agriculture and our modern-day practices: tillage, chemical exposure from pesticides, herbicides, fungicides, water run-off, desertification, monocultures, pollution, habitat destruction, and more. Unfortunately, the USA's agriculture field is more focused on subsidizing crops for cattle, such as corn, rather than maintaining fertile soil that can sequester carbon and continue to grow food for people. So, small-scale, organic farmers may be the underdogs, but they are the keystone to a sustainable future in farming.

One thing I'd like to express is that WWOOFing is a personal journey — no one experience can replicate another. There are a plethora of farms, skills, people, and other factors that can change the course of events; also, goals, desires, and intentions can heavily influence what is taken from any given situation. Additionally, it is important to be cautious and aware if/when traveling alone. Although the WWOOF.org organization does a wonderful job at regulating feedback, entering into any situation, especially intimate situations where you may live in a shared space with other people, can be somewhat unsafe. That being said, make sure that you have points of contact, consider traveling with a friend, thoroughly check reviews, and be on guard. Overall, WWOOF attracts good people, but safety always comes first.

My personal journey started in Concrete, Washington at a homestead nestled beside the Skagit river and underneath the North Cascades. This land, before westward bound colonialism, was home to numerous indigenous tribes and is still sacred land to numerous people. My host made this incredibly clear, which transformed the nature of my stay. The land where the homestead was located was not only full of thriving microbes and critters living under the earth, blooming flowers, hearty vegetables, and fruiting trees, but also held a wealth of indigenous history, traditions, and sovereignty.

Simplistically stated, homesteading is the practice of creating a self-sufficient system. However, in a culture where most people are dependent on creature comforts such as grocery stores, heating, cooling, water, and plumbing, this act takes a significant amount of planning and upkeep. At this homestead, my host centered her homestead around permaculture principles. Permaculture is the act and art of looking towards nature's natural systems for solutions to human systems. Now, I'd like to personally add that the separation between "nature" and "humanity" is a social

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*Slingshot* is an independent radical newspaper published in Berkeley since 1988.

The Occupy movement introduced the "human microphone" — when a speaker has their words repeated and thereby amplified by a crowd without the need for a PA. This is a slow way of communicating, but the advantages can be pretty inspired. The speaker has this explosive sensation of a large crowd not only hearing what they're saying, but have their own words given back to them with emotion and energy. This is a useful metaphor of the condition we are in. There are entrenched systems and people holding back things from changing. Climate chaos, racism, stolen lives at the service of capitalism is seemingly never going to recede. Using force and violence to intervene has its limitations. The older, slower way of working is to inform and inspire more people to go in the directions that are needed.

A newspaper is in this tradition – relaying the speeches, ideas and urgency of those on the front line. Microphone. This paper is made by regular people who are not professional journalists or activists or even hardcore revolutionaries. This issue and recent issues testify to how *Slingshot* puts out a call for submissions and is often met with something worse than silence. Many of the articles we consider are lacking. We do our best considering what's given to us. As with those dramatic days of Occupy sometimes we are amplifying something that is awkward or we don't entirely agree with. We appreciate the authors who worked hard on what you hold in your hands.

To get this issue out, we extended the article deadline twice for two months to finally get enough material for a paper. Even though we made an issue, it was just a skeleton crew making the decisions and attending meetings. Like so much else in the world, it doesn't feel sustainable to work like this. The pandemic cut the collective off from its typical process of gradually incorporating new members who drift in. The Long Haul was closed and the lockdown caused the whole society to turn inward — sticking with a tiny pod of people you already knew. Worse yet was only seeing people on a computer screen. The pandemic isn't exactly over — it is unknown how we can heal this damage and reinvigorate our grassroots communities. But we gotta try — write it in your organizer.

While we were making the issue up in the loft, the meeting room downstairs filled to capacity with an 8 hour long anarchist conference — the biggest public gathering at Long Haul in two years. While the endless lectures made it hard to concentrate, it was so nourishing to be amidst the rabble.

*Slingshot's* normal practice is to publish an article deadline a few months out and then wait and hope. We're doing so again — but with reservations and some anxiety. Another attractive option is to take a break and try different things for a while. Perhaps exciting articles and folks wanting to join the collective will accumulate over time — and perhaps patience is the best way forward? If you don't see another issue of *Slingshot* for a while, that may be why. And if we end up taking a longer break than usual and you miss *Slingshot*, feel free to start your own zine. When the time is right, *Slingshot* hopes to sprout like the mushrooms after a heavy rain.

One collective member asked her middle school students what they want to learn and discuss in school? We would like to invite more responses from students beyond the Bay Area and may publish some responses in the future. Another collective member suggested we start a People's Park vision quest so we can publish ideas for parks and commons in a future issue. On the back cover, *Slingshot* for years published a calendar of upcoming events. But with the pandemic there's hardly any events. So we're experimenting and hope to get the calendar BACK soon.

Slingshot is always looking for new writers, artists, editors, photographers and distributors. Even if you feel you are not an essayist, illustrator, or whistleblower, you may know someone who is. If you send an article, please be open to editing. We're a collective, but not all the articles reflect the opinions of all collective members. We welcome debate and constructive criticism.

Thanks to the people who made this: Alex, Andrei, Daisy, Darby, eggplant, elke, Emily, Fern, Gina, Heval, Jacob, Jack, Jesse, Jax, Josette, Juan-Carlos, Luis, rachelle, Robin, Salmon, Seandunn, Sylvia, Will & all the authors and artists!

## Slingshot New Volunteer Meeting

Volunteers interested in getting involved with *Slingshot* can come to the new volunteer meeting on February 6, 2022 at 7 pm at the Long Haul in Berkeley (see below.)

## Article Deadline & Next Issue Date

Submit your articles for issue 135 by March 4, 2022 at 11 pm.

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# Pat Wright

## 1943 - 2020

By SunshinE

Our dear old friend Pat Wright passed away in November, 2020 — his final months spending time with his people, even having a zoom birthday party where his circle of friends could express our appreciation and love for him while he was still alive. What a blessing. We are lucky that Pat, who grew up in New York, came out West in his crazy big truck/wagon around 1965 and settled here in the Bay.

When I got into the Local #510 Sign and Display Union, setting up trade shows in San Francisco, Pat was the President, facilitating the sometimes unruly meetings, letting the discussions roll in the spirit of democracy. Always having an archivist's eye for history, he had a scrapbook of old articles, including the murder of painter's Unionist Dow Wilson in San Francisco, killed for his powerful organizing. Back then, our newsletter was called "The Wingnut", meaningful on many levels since some tradeshow displays we install are held together with wingnuts. Pat got the punks in the Union, many of whom are running it today with the same ethics. Seeing me struggle with being a single mom while working long hours, Pat would say "You need a wife at home". Coming from him it wasn't sexist at all. He had a way of seeing you, supporting you, with deep solidarity and a sense of equality.

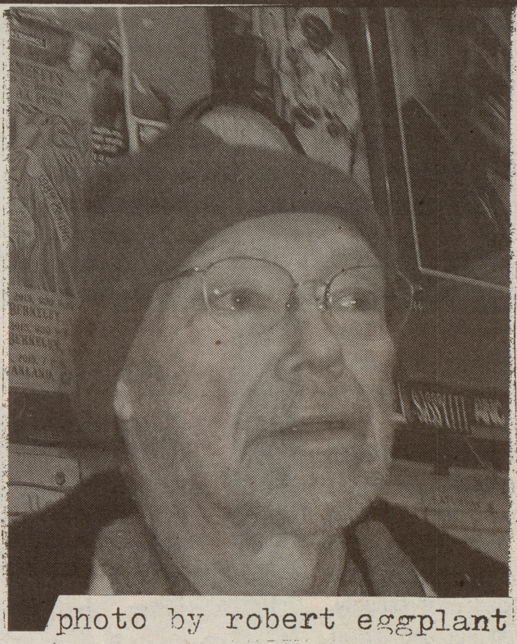


photo by robert eggplant

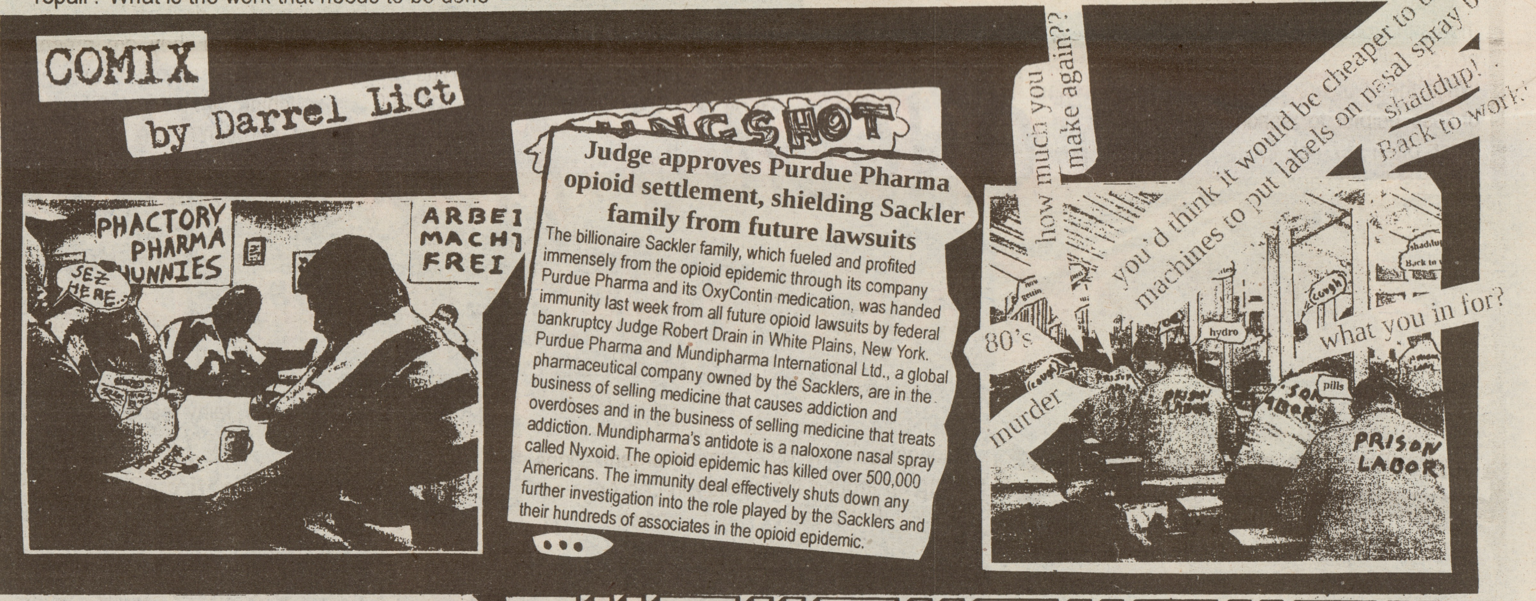
Pat was a fixture at the 924 Gilman Street all-ages punk venue in Berkeley, helping hold things down in the nuts and bolts sort of way. Who's sweeping and mopping the floor at the end of the night after the show? What needs repair? What is the work that needs to be done to hold the project together, people wise and the physical space? Always an eye towards what holds a project together. The real shitwork and a sense of fair sharing of the work, not the glamorous stuff. And the love and appreciation for the people. He was the tall lanky punk elder with his flight jacket and beanie cap, always there looking out for the community he loved, a sort of glue in the scene and a mentor to the youth, exemplified in a song called "Wright Kids" written by Robert in the band Shit Coffins: "...all you've done is open doors for us all...take a deep breath and see the lives you have changed." His role in Gilman and everything in general seems to have been about having meaning and connection.

Before Gilman, Pat volunteered with KALX, Berkeley's student and community radio station. When he showed up to help out in 1982, he choose Facilities. Pat's DJ name was Insect Chickenboy, and he was a community bridge between different eras: bohemian, hippies and hardcore punk. KALX Last Will wrote, "If there had been no Pat Wright I would not have survived feeling out of place in my first crucial days as a KALX Berkeley underground volunteer fresh from East Oakland... [H]e went out of his way every time he saw me to take aggressively generous action to see to it that I belonged with the misfits... Pat being resolutely clique free, I would not have learned that healthy rebellion lives in the grooves of every genre of the human condition."

Pat had a way of being present with love and solidarity. While making his rounds in his big van he would swing through the Long Haul/Infoshop saying "What needs fixing?" with a hand on his tool pouch on his black jeans, with more tools and supplies available in the intricate custom shelves of his van. He'd come over saying "time for a dump run" and make a date with you to do an Urban Ore run. That was another special place on Pat's rounds: a church of life's debris where decluttering your life can be a sacred act of getting stuff to move on to the next person's hands. He would give you a CD of music with your name on a ziploc bag. Pat's presence made everyone feel welcome and a part of something, which is what all us humans need most.

## COMIX

by Darrel Lict



**Judge approves Purdue Pharma opioid settlement, shielding Sackler family from future lawsuits**

The billionaire Sackler family, which fueled and profited immensely from the opioid epidemic through its company Purdue Pharma and its OxyContin medication, was handed immunity last week from all future opioid lawsuits by federal bankruptcy Judge Robert Drain in White Plains, New York. Purdue Pharma and Mundipharma International Ltd., a global pharmaceutical company owned by the Sacklers, are in the business of selling medicine that causes addiction and overdoses and in the business of selling medicine that treats addiction. Mundipharma's antidote is a naloxone nasal spray called Nyxoid. The opioid epidemic has killed over 500,000 Americans. The immunity deal effectively shuts down any further investigation into the role played by the Sacklers and their hundreds of associates in the opioid epidemic.

## Message to Prisoner Subscribers

**What we do:** We provide free subscriptions to incarcerated individuals in the US who request them. We only publish 2-3 times a year, so there may be up to a 6 month delay between when you request a subscription and when you get a paper. We do accept submissions of art and articles from incarcerated subscribers but we only publish a very tiny fraction. We don't publish poetry or fiction, and only run personal narratives or stories about your case if they are framed within radical analysis.

**What we don't do:** we are unable to provide penpals, legal aid/advice, financial assistance, literature besides *Slingshot*, or respond to requests for other kinds of help. Usually, we can't write back. We can't use JPay / other inmate email services.

**Comrades on the outside:** We receive 5-10 letters from incarcerated folks every day. We welcome help reading them and processing subscription requests! — Love, Slingshot

## Circulation information

Subscriptions to *Slingshot* are free to prisoners, low income, or anyone in the USA with a Slingshot Organizer, or $1 per issue. International $3 per issue. Outside the Bay Area we'll mail you a free stack of copies if you give them out for free. Say how many copies and how long you'll be at your address. In the Bay Area pick up copies at Long Haul and Bound Together books, SF.

# Get organized

## The Making of the SLINGSHOT 2023 organizer by the people your parents warned you about

The 2022 Slingshot organizer is available now. By selling the organizer, we are able to print and give away this paper for free, so if you want to support the paper, please buy the organizer for yourself and as gifts.

You can order the organizer online, but if possible, please buy it from a brick and mortar store to support the many co-ops, infoshops and independent bookstores that sell the organizer. If you know of a store in your area that might like to carry the organizer and/or the paper, let us know. We are particularly looking for stores in large cities where we don't know of any store that carries the organizer, such as: Houston; Phoenix; San Antonio; Dallas; San Jose; Ft. Worth; Charlotte, NC; Indianapolis; Washington DC; El Paso; Detroit; Oklahoma City; Las Vegas; Albuquerque; Fresno; Sacramento; Miami; Omaha; Tulsa; Arlington, VA; Tampa; Wichita; Cleveland; Bakersfield; Honolulu; Anchorage; Reno; Boise; Tacoma; Des Moines, IA; San Bernardino....

If you want to help draw art or otherwise create the 2023 Slingshot Organizer, contact us now. We include the work of over 30 artists from all over — it could be you this year.

### Schedule:

March, 2022 – edit / add radical dates
April 20 – Artists start drawing the calendar
May 27 – DEADLINE to turn in art and corrections to Radical Contact List
May 28/29 and June 5/6 – parties to edit artwork and put everything together by hand in Berkeley. Drop by and join us if you're in town. Please send proposed cover art.

*P.S. - Product Recall: The August, 2022 month-at-a-glance calendar is numbered wrong – you'll have to fix it by hand. We're not sure how this made it through the rigorous proofreading process...*

# FIGHT FORCED PREGNANCY THROW DOWN FOR BODILY AUTONOMY AND ABORTION RIGHTS

By Lidyall

Criminalizing abortion is no less than forced childbirth. I hope that you, like me, feel a moral and political imperative to resist and reject a world in which people who get pregnant have no other options but to bear a child. The right to decide "if, when, and how" to get and be pregnant or have a child is on the line in the U.S. The outlook is grim.

The 1973 landmark U.S. law Roe v. Wade Supreme Court decision established a constitutional right to abortion and made abortion legal in all 50 states and prevented states from imposing undue restrictions on abortion. Since then, anti-abortionists have litigated what is considered to bean "undue" restriction and steadily made abortion harder to access and abortion services tougher to deliver. Their ultimate goal has been for the Supreme Court to overturn Roe v. Wade. This is a possibility given the new composition of the court.

## What are the implications if Roe is overturned?

Access is and always has been the issue. Soon after abortion was legalized, Congress made it illegal to use Medicaid funds for abortion, creating a significant burden for low income people to access abortion. Abortion restrictions impact everyone, and will compound the burden on marginalized communities and teens, who may not have a few hundred dollars at hand, who can't take time off of work, who can't drop everything to travel to another state for abortion services. If abortion is outlawed, unsafe abortions will skyrocket. Mountains of global research has shown that making abortion illegal doesn't stop abortion, it just pushes abortion underground. Some underground abortions are very safe (more about these below), but many folks won't know about these options and will suffer. Where abortion is illegal, the rates of pregnancy related mortality and morbidity rise.

CRIMINALIZING ABORTION DOESN'T STOP IT, IT JUST PUSHES IT UNDERGROUND.

## What is the Texas Law?

In early 2021, far right, Trump-loving politicians in Texas passed Senate Bill 8 which makes abortion illegal after 6 weeks, including for rape and incest, a time at which most people aren't aware that they are pregnant. The law deputizes citizens and offers up to $10,000 for snitching on anyone who helps someone get an abortion. Even though SB 8 flies in the face of Roe, the Supreme Court allowed it to go into effect, signaling that it's set to bury Roe. The court is expected to overturn Roe explicitly over a Mississippi law that bans abortion after 15 weeks of pregnancy. This law undercuts the viability marker in Roe, that has held that states may not interfere with abortion before fetal viability, which has remained fairly consistent at 24 weeks.

## What are the implications?

Overturning Roe is not just a devastating loss of a fundamental right, it is a terrifying win for the far right whose leaders see the Texas law and this right-wing Supreme Court as a pathway to overturn the host of civil rights legislation founded on the 14th amendment justified by equal protection and due process.

The Texas law makes anyone into a bounty hunter, offering the opportunity to win $10,000 for suing anyone who helps with an abortion — that can be a doctor, family, friends, or even the rideshare driver who provides transports. The parallel to the vicious Fugitive Slave Laws can't be ignored as precedent, where bounty hunter schemes facilitated regular people to circumvent federal laws and deny fundamental human rights to targeted populations. A number of commentators have also flagged that authoritarianism loves a snitch, and the Texas law invites neighbors, abusers, and really anyone to rain punishment, serve as the eyes of the government, and enforce a reactionary system.

Twenty-four states have anti-abortion laws proposed and twenty of these have "trigger bans," which means that abortion bans will automatically go into effect, skipping any legislative process, the moment that Roe is overturned. States where abortion will remain legal are going to be hugely impacted, too. For example, a recent Guttmacher Institute report finds that the 46,000 patients who find their nearest clinic in California would increase almost 3,000 percent to 1.4 million. The right will redouble their campaign of harassment and terror in the remaining 26 states where abortion remains legal. That means that attacks on clinics where abortion is legal are going to increase, as will the need for effective clinic defense.

Criminalizing the means of abortions doesn't end the need for them . The coat hanger is an emblem of illegal abortion because it symbolizes the unsafe and desperate measures that women have resorted to all over the world to end a pregnancy. From safe sex, contraception, and abortion information, there is still a heavy lift to reject the misinformation and shame around sex and bodies.

From taking to the streets to volunteering with practical support networks that help folks in Texas and other states where abortion will be a crime, there are many ways to get involved with the fight for abortion rights. Here are just a few:

**Plan C**: Spread information and access to Plan C, the abortion pill that can be used for self-managed abortion and help get them into hands that need them. The pills, which are taken a few days apart and cause a miscarriage, require a doctor's prescription in the US. They are most effective during the first trimester. There are telemedicine sites that facilitate easy access to the pills and can mail the pills to home addresses. AidAccess (aidaccess.org) is a bilingual (English, Spanish) website for telemedicine in the US. The website PlanCPills.com provides information and resources about the pills.

Many people are bucking the prescription framework and accessing the pills directly for self-managed abortions by purchasing the pills at bodegas in Mexico where the medication called "Cytotec" is sold. Cytotec was developed and sold as an anti-ulcer drug, and is used widely and safely across Latin America for first trimester abortions.

Work within affinity groups and develop ways to spread accurate information or collect and distribute the pills to folks or community organizations that will reach those most in need. For example, groups could slap up Plan C stickers with QR codes that link to the website Plan C and abortion pill access in all sorts of places where young women and other folks who could get pregnant might be.

**Practical Support**: Volunteer with abortion funds and access organizations in the states nearest you where abortion will be soon be criminalized. Want to help people get to a clinic with a ride? CASN, the Clinic Access Support Network (clinicaccess.org), trains volunteers to provide direct support and rides to clinics, and is a part of the Network of Abortion Funds that helps to provide a host of support to anyone who needs to access an abortion. Volunteer for the Texas based Frontera Fund (fronterafundrgv.org) or, in California, AccessRJ (accessrj.org) connects callers with full-scope sexual and reproductive health services through their info line and direct support network.

**Fight the Right**: Wherever we are, we have to fight like our lives and future depend on it, because they do. That means confronting far right forces whether they are showing their racist misogynist faces as Proud Boys or as "pro-lifers". Mass actions, direct actions, public visibility and art that articulates what we are fighting for, and the imperative to oppose the right-wing agenda, are critical to keep the pressure on and invigorate resistance. January 23rd, 2022 is the 49th anniversary of Roe v. Wade. In the Bay Area, thousands of anti-abortion forces will march in the streets of San Francisco, spreading lies about abortion and celebrating oppressive restrictions on abortion rights. Let's oppose them at every opportunity and fight for the world we want to live in.

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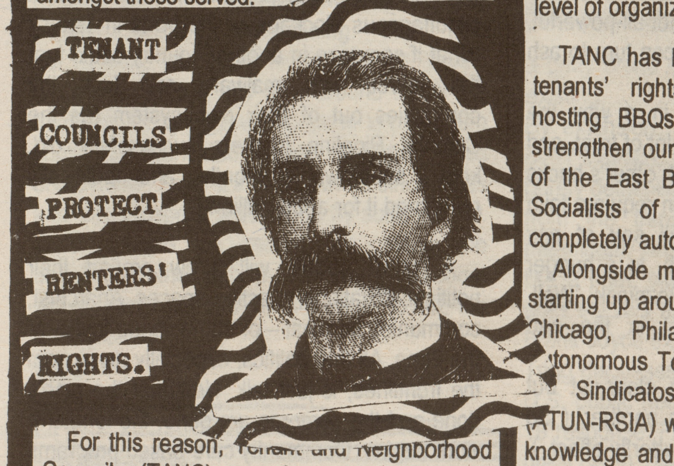
# RESIST EVICTION: TENANT SOLIDARITY

By Ammra

We all know that the situation under capitalism is dreadful for tenants. Rent is theft. Landlords are parasites. Paying for a roof over our heads is an inhumane but long-standing practice. Since the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, the situation has only gotten worse.

In the SF Bay Area, there is a long legacy of nonprofit organizations that deal with housing and tenant issues. Some have been forged out of specific struggles against particular landlords, some have emerged to offer legal counsel for those facing evictions and other unfriendly legal processes stacked against the poor. Other organizations have gone the "poverty pimp" route, creating a raft of high salaried positions that enable the financing and construction of supposedly "affordable" housing which often, considering the high median income in a place like the Bay Area, is not *actually* affordable to most working people. While these diverse housing groups are more or less helpful to working class people, they most often do not focus on building power amongst those served.



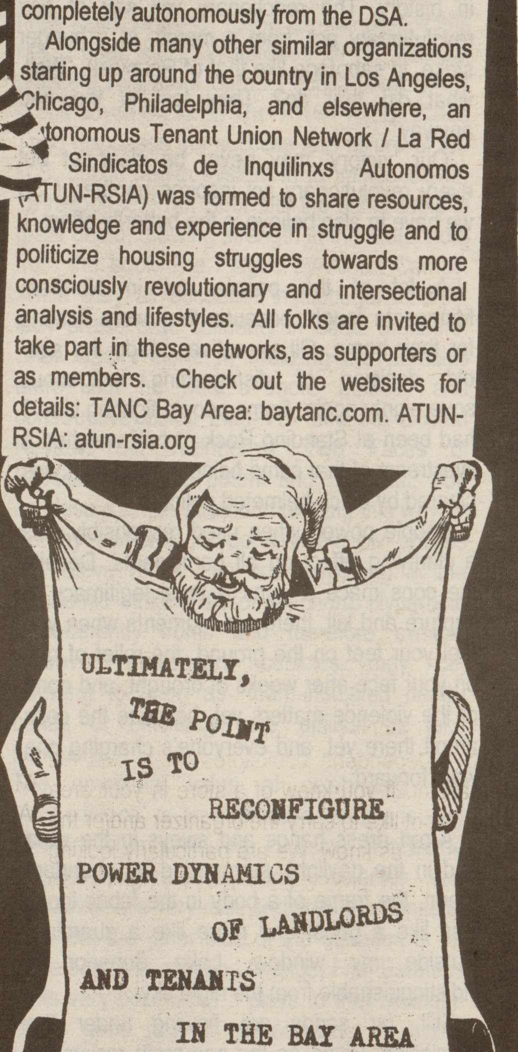
For this reason, Tenant and Neighborhood Councils (TANC) was formed in 2018. A tenant council is a group of tenants who work together to wield collective power against a shared landlord in order to improve their conditions. While in general councils may organize for more affordable, habitable, and safer housing, the issues that a council decides to organize around is ultimately dictated by its members.

TANC helps organize councils and bring them together as a network. While councils interface directly with their landlord, they can find support from other councils who rent from different landlords. TANC researches landlords whose tenants would benefit from forming a council and compiles complaints that are common across councils. Councils can discuss and demand timely repairs and support tenants threatened with eviction. Ultimately, the point is to reconfigure power dynamics of landlords and tenants in the Bay Area.

One example from my own experience showed how this solidarity can work. Working with tenants in a San Francisco building that was being threatened with an eviction before the pandemic began, the local SF chapter of TANC launched a pressure campaign involving dozens of phone calls to the owners of the building and tabling / flyering in front of their workplace. Within weeks of these actions, involving friends and family of the tenants, as well as TANC's networks of unpaid activist tenants throughout San Francisco and in the East Bay, the landlords had rescinded the eviction. Tenant councils are the base level of organization to make this all work.

TANC has been distributing information on tenants' rights given the pandemic and hosting BBQs and events to network and strengthen our ties. TANC initially started out of the East Bay chapter of the Democratic Socialists of America, but it is now run completely autonomously from the DSA.

Alongside many other similar organizations starting up around the country in Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, and elsewhere, an Autonomous Tenant Union Network / La Red Sindicatos de Inquilinxs Autonomos (ATUN-RSIA) was formed to share resources, knowledge and experience in struggle and to politicize housing struggles towards more consciously revolutionary and intersectional analysis and lifestyles. All folks are invited to take part in these networks, as supporters or as members. Check out the websites for details: TANC Bay Area: baytanc.com. ATUN-RSIA: atun-rsia.org



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# On the Battle of Willow

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they carried out their action, the four Catholic workers prayed and sang. The Catholic Worker movement ranges from monastic types who are content sowing pea seeds in their rural enclaves, to the type that light excavators on fire with coffee bin molotovs and chopped up the Black Snake DAPL with welding torches — as Jessica Reznicek and Ruby Montoya did in their "rolling ploughshares." Ploughshares actions usually involve an attempt to do maximum damage to devices of genocide and imperial domination (warheads, submarines, pipelines). The people who take these actions are almost always incarcerated, and continue to care for the downtrodden within the carceral system. Reznicek, whose arson charge of two years was supplemented with a six year terrorism enhancement, wrote from prison that she's begun teaching creative writing classes to other folx in genpop.

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We gathered around fires in the winter to stay warm, and in spring we gathered in the smoke to keep the bugs away. We talked and passed along rumors. Rumors of wiretapping and police drones with thermal optics. Rumors about the horizontal directional drill (HDD), the machine that utilizes pilot drones with drills attached, followed by thousands of gallons of clay and chemical sludge mixed with extracted river water, to drill a tunnel for the pipeline underneath water bodies like the Mississippi River. We wondered how many drills there'd be, where they'd be positioned first, and the possibility of disrupting the pullback process, speculating on how bad the cops would try and hurt us for non-violent civil disobedience. One rumor that floated around was that there were only three of these machines in North America, which proved to be utterly false. Rumors of pipeline workers clearing out any wildlife along the line, including wolves and bears, by shooting them from their ATVs. Some of the ecocide could be documented with water samples during frac-outs when, amidst the drilling process, an aquifer is breached, causing the drilling fluid, made mostly of clay and xanthan gum, to gush into the surface water. This geyser of industrial waste suffocates plant and animal life, from algae to wild rice to minnow.

As we talked, the cops dislodged and arrested tree sitters, police liaisons and medics all while Border Security helicopters kicked up debris to disperse crowds. Police told arrestees in riot vans, "If you act good, I'll turn the heat on to make sure you don't freeze." Sheriffs would threaten Protectors who locked-down that if they didn't disengage (unhook themselves from pipeline construction equipment) they'd be subject to pain compliance — officers grinding knuckles on pressure points at the nose, behind the ears, and in the jaw, torturing non-violent protestors causing permanent nerve damage to some.

THE LIFELINE OF A MOVEMENT IS FAIRLY PREDICTABLE AND THERE WERE POINTS WHERE WE FUNDAMENTALLY FAILED

### Suggested Reading

For America to Live Europe Must Die- Russel Means (pdf on Indigenous Action)
Accomplices Not Allies (Warrior Zine)
Defend the Territory (Warrior Publications)
Anarkata (the anarchist library)
The struggle is not for martyrdom but for life: on the revolution in Rojava (Crimethinc)
Swarm Manifesto (antidote zines)
ELF Black Cat sabotage manual (downloadable on the earth first website)

Meanwhile, in Minneapolis, the police murdered Daunte Wright, and Mayor Frey deployed the National Guard. Agape Project removed the barricades around George Floyd square. Winston Smith was assassinated by a federally deputized task force. Deonna Marie was hit and killed by a white nationalist car attack. And through all this, the sound of machines continued to pound by the rivers, in the woods up north. As Enbridge sucked water out of the rivers and lakes for drilling in the middle of a drought, entire rivers disappeared virtually overnight.

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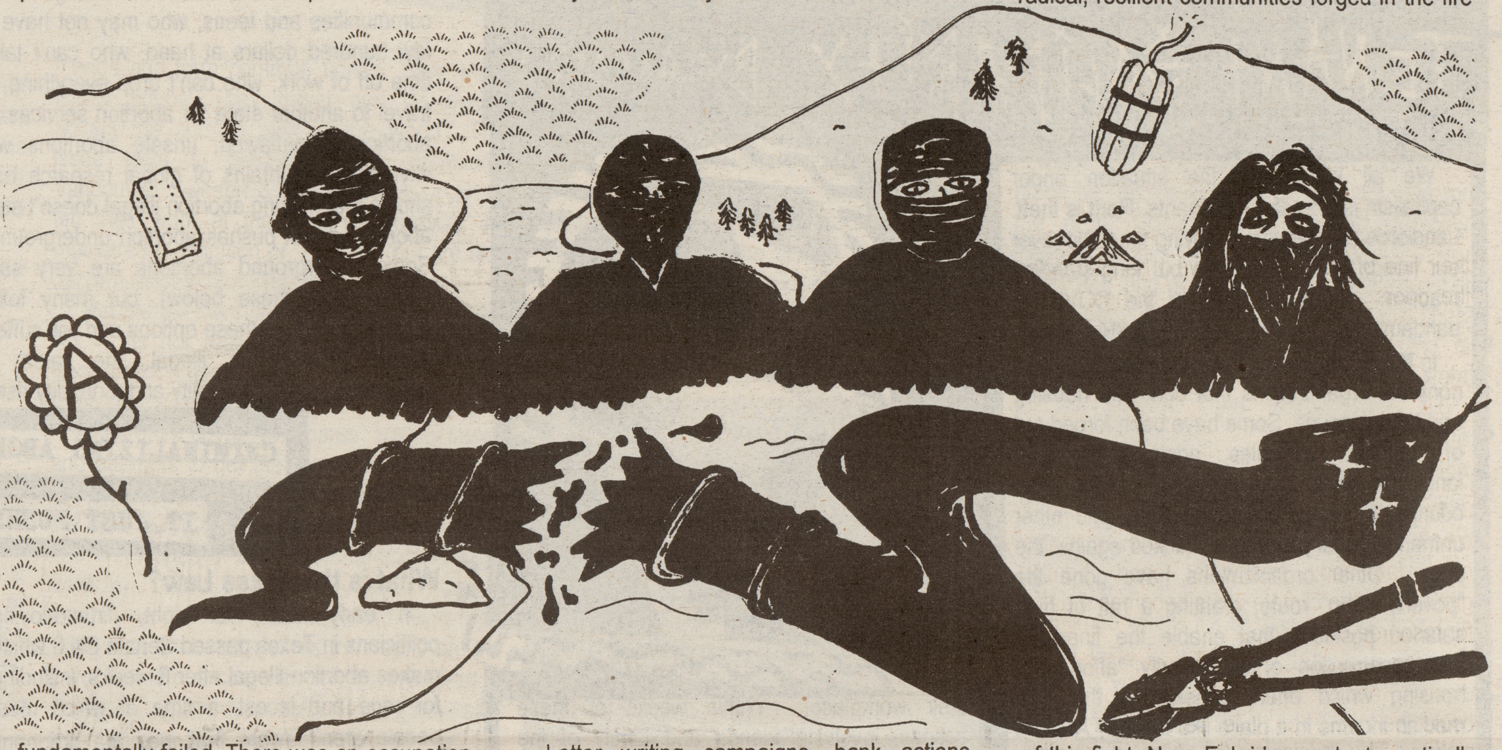
The lifeline of a movement is fairly predictable, and there were points where we fundamentally failed. There was an occupation that successfully blocked the entry of an HDD drill site for a week, with people camped out on the easement leading into the river crossing. But after a week of waiting on the company's water permits, they were all upheld, and leadership decided to do a coordinated march out of the site to take formal arrest. At the end of it, the Sheriff said to the crowd, "Come to my car if you want to be cited." And a few days later the drills rolled in unhindered.



In the weeks leading up to the river crossings, thousands materialized for a mass civil disobedience that targeted one of the pipeline pumping stations. But the action was swept into the news void.

An entire camp formed at the beginning of the fight, positioned next to the Mississippi river crossing. The coordinators expected to house thousands of campers and be for the Line 3 fight what Sacred Stone was to Standing Rock.

However, the numbers barely materialized, and there were points where the camp was a skeleton crew. The infrastructure and openness of this camp led to a tendency towards liberal tourism, where many people congregated to learn about the struggle for a weekend, but few actions ever materialized. The week of a scheduled Indigo Girls concert put on by the camp, Enbridge ploughed beneath the Mississippi River.

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We began to wonder if we could disrupt work well enough to escape the cycle of symbolic arrest, and to avoid seeing our friends brutalized, subjected to the dehumanization of the carceral system, and bogged down for months in lengthy and expensive court proceedings. With some success, autonomous actors were able to infiltrate worksites and evade arrest by running out through heavy brush. We wondered if this tactic (practiced by the Mississippi Stand camp and detailed succinctly in the Swarm Manifesto on antidotezines) could be proliferated, so that we'd have a way to fight back beyond machine lockdowns.

We all knew the monster we were going up against, and we knew pipeline owner Enbridge had the cops and courts incentivized to come down on us as hard as possible. There is a whole network of Task Forces, private security, infrastructure-specific citations, suits, informants, surveillance software, grand juries, and solitary cells for anyone who challenges the system in a way it cannot tolerate.

Letter writing campaigns, bank actions, marches, and even lockdowns are situations the corporations can adapt to and control. When their investments are hit in a way that is multi-pronged and out of nowhere, it reveals that their security apparatus is not all-powerful, but rather fragile. A paper tiger can turn to ash with a single spark.

Asking people to mobilize in a way the system can't tolerate requires a lot of trust, and a lot of faith that you'll have each other's backs when the state retaliates. It even requires faith in history. The reactionary will say of any revolutionary act, from a march, to a hunger strike, to sabotage like that of Reznicek, "Well, what did that do? They lost in the end anyway."

Our 'victory' may never be clear-cut but every revolutionary act inspires another. ( So we have to also believe in the butterfly effect. )

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A lot of the people out in Northern Minnesota fought because they were fighting for their home. Oil executives made the age-old decision of disregarding indigenous sovereignty again. Some people fighting Line 3 had been at Standing Rock or had watched a livestream of that camp being burned as it was cleared by black-helmeted police.

People power, when used responsibly, has a clarifying effect on all participants. Despite the cops mace & guns & legal legitimacy to capture and kill, there are moments when you feel your feet on the ground, the relief of rain on your face after weeks of drought, and none of the violence matters yet, because the cops aren't there yet, and everyone's charging one way: forward.

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A red dress hangs and sways in the wind and in the daylight, surrounded by abundant green, the frame of a body in the fabric looks less like a ghost and more like a guardian. Outside my window, Lake Superior is indistinguishable from the night sky.

Still, tar sands are flowing under the Mississippi River. As the non-profit resistance camps close down for the winter, there is a sense of disbelief and mourning in this moment. A lot of people who risked their lives in this struggle are wondering if they could have done more. I'm sure many people are wondering if we could have gotten greater numbers or gotten the right media coverage or made a strategic shift that would have delayed this day from coming. We have to remind ourselves the fight does not end with this pipeline because the people in its path are surviving more than just this project.

I believe that one day the emergency shutdown valves will be turned. The pipe will be excavated, cleaned, and sold for scrap.

Hundreds of young people came out and acquired essential skills for fighting white supremacy & extractive industry, supported by radical, resilient communities forged in the fire of this fight. Now, Enbridge seeks to vertically integrate production and distribution, buying several ports in Texas for the international sale of crude. What if, on a given day, railroads were blocked in Calgary and Clearbrook with a simultaneous blockade of the ports in Texas? What if someone in another country could turn the valves with malware and lock the companies out of their own system (as the Colonial Pipeline hackers successfully did, kept it shutdown for months, and apolitically ransomed it for a few million.)

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A lot of people will throw around their political affiliations in action spaces. Anarchist, communist, socialist – or some vague fusion of the three. All that politics, especially away from the frontlines, is just talk. Now that the pipe's done and the cameras are gone, the longterm work begins. Community care-based programs like free lunch, people's clinics and childcare, wilderness survival and self-defense courses, patrols for missing and murdered Indigenous relatives and eviction defense teams will be set up to do what the state will never do: care for the people trapped in its borders. We will be on standby ready to take back the land from fascist and corporatist forces when the time comes.

As we move beyond the threshold of 1.5 degrees Celsius, Minnesota's position as a climate refuge will invite conflict in the region, rather than de-escalate it. As people arrive, displaced by our resource wars and trade policies, and displaced within the nation by poverty and ecological disaster, there may be a virulent tide of eco-fascism, unless we can lay the groundwork to stop it. It is already deeply entrenched in the logic of white nationalism. "This is our land" and "You're trespassing" is uttered by the typical line 3 sellout as they swerve their trucks or four-wheelers at us. "They [migrants] are a strain on our resources" is a rhetorical point that echoes through the Fox News broadcasts they all watch, a point that was also braided into the manifesto of the El Paso shooter who committed a genocidal terror attack against Chicano people shopping at Walmart. Out of a need to play soldier, lone wolf attackers like

# River

Kyle Rittenhouse in Kenosha or organized groups like the Proud Boys in the Pacific Northwest kill and physically dominate anyone they perceive as a threat to the American empire and private property.

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There were moments in the winter when there were a few hundred people marching down a country road, flanked by snowdrifts. The man camps, essentially Enbridge built trailer parks that operated with the same opacity as fraternities or precincts were hotbeds of Covid-19 transmission and more pressingly, sexual assault & trafficking. As the march concluded with prayer and song, I wondered what would have happened if we'd stormed the man camp. The workers, despite the fact that they too are exploited under capitalism and completely disposable to their employers, deserved to be driven out.

Misogyny, Covid-19 denialism, anti-Semitism, Christian Creationism, neo-confederacy, and utter contempt for Indigenous people is endemic to the culture in their line of work. What if we'd banged down the doors and occupied their 'homes', made them, for a portion of time, displaced? But of course, it would've led to mass arrest and riot charges for the leadership of the march...

As the imperial core continues to collapse, the next wave of fascists will continue to collaborate with law enforcement and increasingly fringe local government, trying to create sovereign ethno-states, to exert control over farmland, freshwater, and hunting grounds as the climate crisis becomes a game for resource-ownership.

In the resistance fight, the communal fires, dinners, and conversations of about 'what could be' were all little parts of a bigger picture. The crisis of the Line 3 pipeline created in the woods around border towns wells of grassroots democracy akin to international revolutionary projects like the Zapatista resistance that gained autonomy over Chiapas or the eco-socialist Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria, also known as Rojava. Expanding autonomous regions may become a more common sight within the next decade as the people begin to take their power back.

All in all, what we're asking is for us to think a little outside the box, considering the batshit sci-fi movie that already is our reality. We should imagine cyberpunk outlaws to hack Amazon's self-driving semis. Imagine non-lethal drone swarms to delay commercial air traffic. Imagine flotillas of buccaneers overtaking oil tankers in the middle of the ocean. All of this so we can have drinkable water and breathable air, so that our daughters and nieces may grow strong and storm the jails and camps, decades from now, as liberators.

Our Victory May Never Be Clear-Cut But Every Revolutionary Act Inspires Another. (So We Have To Also Believe In The Butterfly Effect)

In the meantime, though, we can only know that at some points in the fight, we landed a blow that made them bleed. From Fairy Creek to Thacker Pass, from the forests of Humboldt County to South Atlanta, we're fighting a war for the dawn, and we have a duty to win.

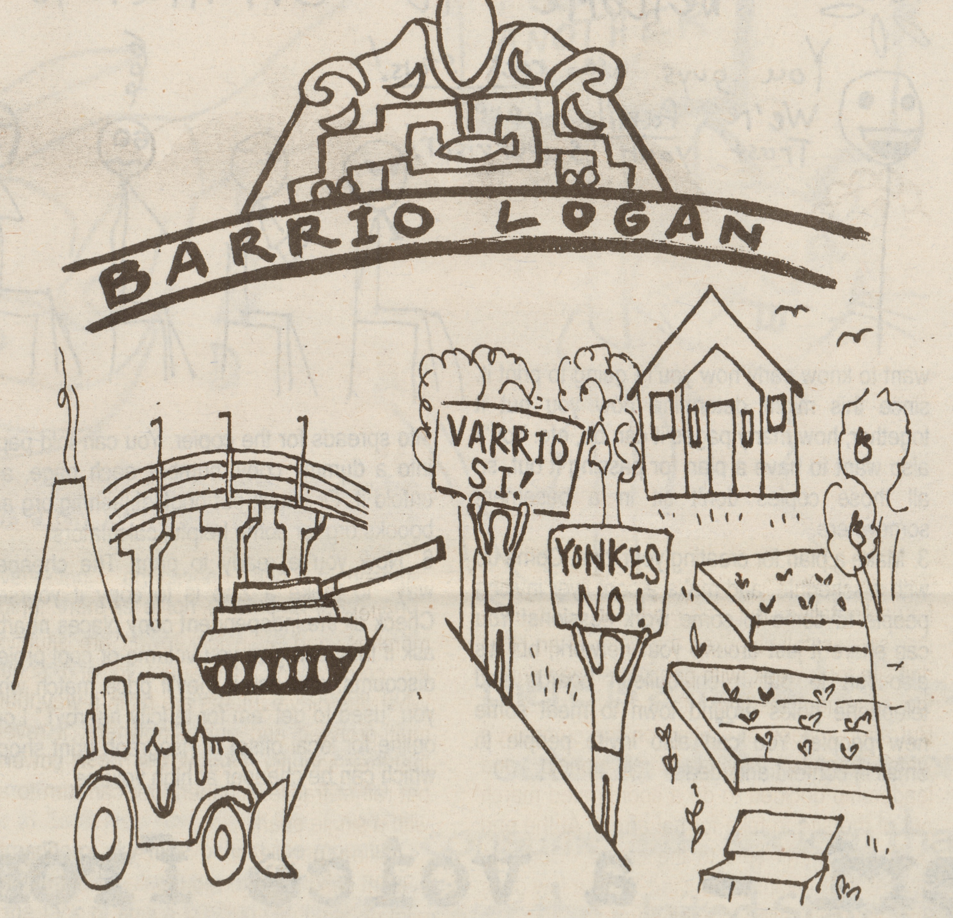
What do we do when our planet is under attack? STAND UP, FIGHT BACK

# NO EASY ANSWERS

## ¡VARRIO SI, INDUSTRIA NO!

By Adán Almeida

Its no secret that the character of San Diego has changed drastically in the last 10 years, and even the last 5. While there are so many factors for these urban transformations, there is one entity that I wish more people would think more critically about actively resisting. That is the constant influx of military personnel being stationed here and their expanding industrial installations around our low-income communities of color. The defense industry is growing, and it is almost effortless how easily these military contractors are transmuted into our communities, taking up our housing, transforming the economy and polluting the environment above all else. There is more to be done about how the military industry contributes to the city's biggest social issues like gentrification, poverty and environmental racism.


BARRIO LOGAN
VARRIO SI!
YONKES NO!

Many brown community members and organizers are vocal yet vague about how we can reclaim the varrios — through radical praxis. And otherwise, the pipeline from artist to business owner is too well known [see *gente-fication*] which surprisingly enough does little to support causes around poverty, policing, disease and displacement.

Mayor Todd Gloria advocates for equality among us in a color-blind and classist way promoting equality for all our residents without addressing some very clear contradictions. For example, Gloria considers himself a friend of the Barrio Logan community while continuing to applaud the defense industry for whatever it is that they do here. In his own words he suggests that "the military community is intrinsic to the fabric of San Diego", with an attitude of acceptance and normalization about its industrial encroachment. My question is then how can someone be an advocate for communities like Barrio Logan without addressing the realities of the growing military industry for local residents? Like what the Bay Area experiences in the face of a booming tech industry, the defense industry in San Diego is immune to much-needed regulations and limits of power as well.

The harbors that should belong to our communities in Central San Diego are well occupied and polluted by the defense industry. According to a SDMAC Impact Study; 60% of total US Navy fleets are in San Diego in areas that could have once been cultivated as small brown bayside communities in Barrio Logan and West National City. For generations, distinct neighborhoods in this area, comprised of mostly Latinx and linguistically isolated people, have encountered some of the worst effects of displacement and environmental racism in San Diego. Shipyards are stationed only blocks away from homes and schools, contributing to pollution in the air, water, soil and people's bodies for decades. Among other things, residents in Barrio Logan experience asthma at twice the rate than the national average, according to the Environmental Health Coalition (EHC). EHC is one organization calling attention to specific instances of health and pollution disparities in low-income communities of color in central San Diego.

While it would be hard to kick these long implemented naval installations out of our backyards, EHC does well at promoting practical solutions for social equity and public health in the region. Their most recent initiative seeks to minimize and ultimately eliminate diesel truck traffic in the residential neighborhoods of portside Logan. EHC has also been involved in getting residents to speak up on issues of discriminatory housing in the area. As newcomers are constantly making space for themselves in our neighborhoods, EHC has made some ongoing efforts with community members to defend accessible housing for long-standing residents and residents with the most need.

The issue of displacement is happening on many fronts in San Diego, the growing military presence is one, along with its huge industrial imprint. Then there is the subtly growing trend of *gente-fication* and branding of Chicano culture in our hoods too. Slowly our varrios are turning into shopping districts and cultural attractions in place of self-sustained neighborhoods of color. Barrio Logan is the epitome of this phenomenon, where property is constantly being passed through entrepreneurs to be reconstructed and refurbished for mainstream consumers. Regardless of what Latinx business owners believe about creating representation, they are giving into mass commercialization of Chicano history and Mexican American identity without noticing how they too are participating in class insulation and displacement of the surrounding poor.

By romanticizing the culture, many outsiders have come closer in proximity to our varrios. Subsequently the new food, beer and clothing shops that pop up each year are not created to serve the needs of the surrounding community in any capacity. Through a critical lens, it's obvious that there is a need for sites of change in our communities. There are youth and families of color that continue to be visibly impacted and traumatized by poverty, health problems, and street violence in this area; yet their struggles only ever seem to be tokenized and memorialized instead of actively tended to. Without class solidarity, racial solidarity is empty, and this is what a lot of people fail to understand.

I could suggest many alternatives for investing in the urban public space, like creating free and diverse public health clinics, adult educational spaces, resource centers, and overnight shelters for homeless youth. And in place of all the liquor stores, there is the possibility of funding local community gardens, farmers markets and public food pantries. Less ongoing commercial development is needed to offset the pollution and heavy energy-use happening at the navy bases and shipyard. This includes the need for parks, urban trails and open green spaces for people and wildlife to thrive in. In an ideal situation, this is what our neighborhoods could be transformed into, if enough people believed it was necessary including the local gente themselves.

**Without class solidarity, racial solidarity is empty, and this is what a lot of people fail to understand.**

Despite all the attention that surrounds the cultural narrative in central San Diego, there is little being done to defend and empower the generations of immigrant and working-class people against industrial and commercial oppression. My discomfort lies with how many of our people continue to be trapped in cycles of poverty and exploitation while waves of military personnel and upper middle-class transplants comfortably call San Diego home.

It is well worth problematizing the military-industrial complex in our urban space and resisting the nationalist fraternity that continues to make space for itself here easily. As for the entrepreneurs who claim to be Brown and down, they should begin by examining their own capitalist tendencies and recognize how their 'progressive' and culturally inclusive businesses are still complicit in our oppression.

### 'DA FUCK?

*Praxis- putting theory into practice or in this case creating embodied resistance based on historical narratives and relevant tactics

*Varrio- another word for barrio, slang for vencidario (neighborhood) of predominantly latinx , low-income people in an urban context

*Gente-fication - gentrification by 'la gente' Spanish word for 'the people'. Upwardly mobile latinx people that commodify their culture and community through business owning. This phenomenon is openly supported by capitalists that seek cultural representation.

# Freeing Our Minds

# How to Make a Disorientation

By Kat

Gather round, gather round! Covid, overwork, and the state's assault on the commons have been major barriers to people getting together in the past year. As capitalistic thinking dominates social media and the mainstream news, we urgently need alternative ways of getting the truth out and connecting people to radical projects and ways of life.

Universities, non-profits, and businesses regularly run big-budget "orientations," to try to acclimate us to be eager cogs in the machinery of empire. Amazon shoved anti-union propaganda down workers' throats in Bessemer, Alabama to stave off a unionization drive – putting posters in bathroom stalls and paying temp workers to walk around wearing "Vote No" t-shirts.

We can't counter this assault only with tweets and TikTok videos, which often leave us more isolated than before. We urgently need ways to share new readings of the world and visions for the future. That's where "Disorientation" zines come in!

Disorientation zines have a rich history as a cheap and effective way to communicate a lot of information with a lot of people. We've written up some advice on how to make a disorientation guide about whatever matters in your area! You can create one independently, but things will be much easier and more fun if you have small group working together from the start.

One of the most important (and hardest!) balances in making a Disorientation is being honest about the exploitation, extraction, and damage being done by most sectors of our society, while keeping things open-ended and hopeful.

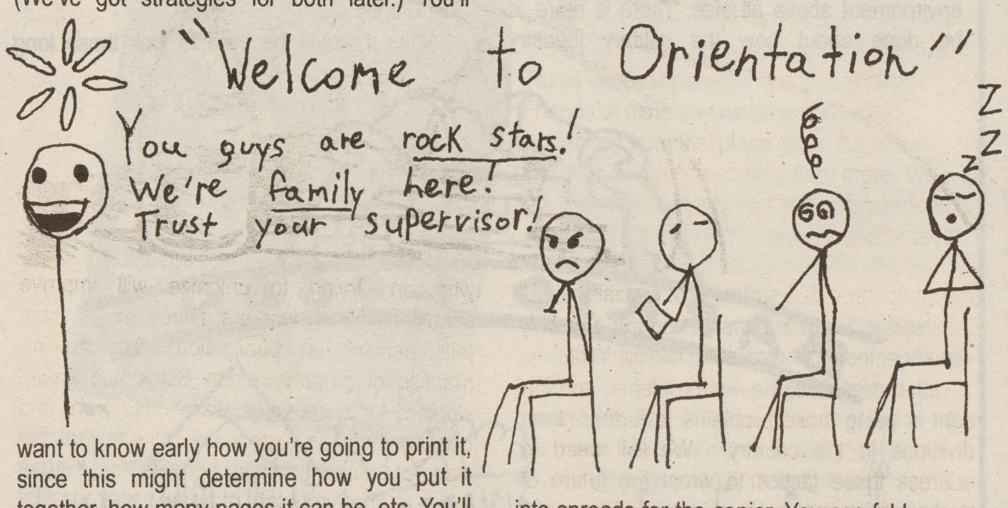
Many of us are reaching out to the world through these zines because we feel burnt out from organizing – both because of internal conflict and a lack of public support. This fatigue can show, as we describe for the hundredth time why a beloved institution is actually part of the *problem* rather than the solution. We're often asking people yet again not to call the cops on us, not to support that slimy non-profit, not to do the awful things that pass as normal.

But we cast these zines into the world as little lifeboats, in the hopes they will re-invigorate our movements and lead more people to re-imagine our world. At our best we write from this place of hope, so we'll want to return to our zines – sparkling with possibilities of a revolutionary and abolitionist future – again and again.

## How to make a disorientation zine

1. Discuss what you want to re-orient people away from, and towards. Do you want to take on a specific topic, like how corporate consultants are trying to take over your co-op? To build support and get more people out to your actions? To bring new people into a movement or group? The possibilities are pretty endless.

2. Start thinking about printing and distribution. (We've got strategies for both later.) You'll want to know early how you're going to print it, since this might determine how you put it together, how many pages it can be, etc. You'll also want to have a plan for passing it out, so all those copies don't sit in a basement somewhere.


"Welcome to Orientation"
You guys are rock stars! We're family here! Trust your supervisor!
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3. Make a plan for creating your zine. Come up with a schedule, and make a cool flyer inviting people to come to some work sessions! You can share it just around your network, but it's also fun to put it on bulletin boards and telephone poles around town to meet some new people. You can also invite people to email in content and ideas!

4. Have some work parties for writing and assembly! Bring food and spirits, or advertise it as a potluck. Put out a donations jar to collect money for printing – you'll need it later. We recommend pasting zines together on paper if possible, so everyone has a chance to participate. With digital graphics, usually only one or a few people have the knowledge and software to make it. This can put a lot of pressure on them and leave everyone else with less say in the project. When you make zines by hand, everyone can contribute a doodle and can work simultaneously. (If you are using a computer, Scribus is a totally free alternative to Adobe InDesign.)

5. When the final zine is done, you'll need to get it ready for printing! If you're going to be folding the pages in half and stapling, you might need to do some extra prep work to make the spreads ready for the copy machine. You'll need to assemble the individual pages into spreads for the copier. You can fold paper into a dummy copy, number each page, and unfold it. Or check out booklet.jaehnig.org and boooks.org for some helpful calculators!

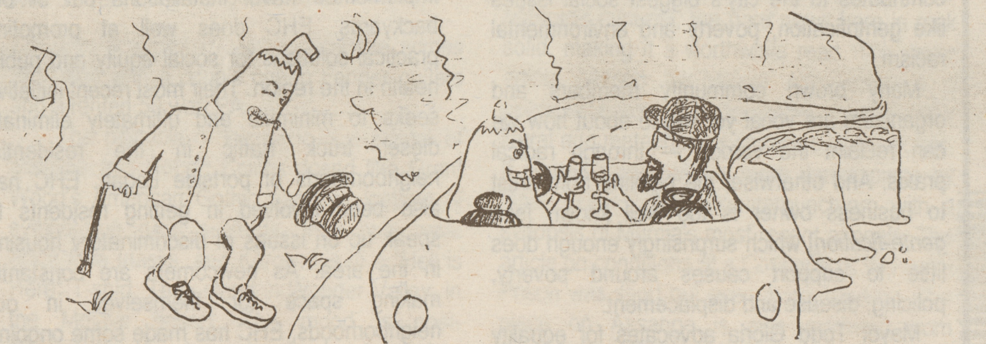
6. Now you're ready to print! The cheapest way to make a zine is to copy it yourself. Check all the independent copy places nearby, ask if they can give you volume or cool project discounts, and ask if they'll price match what you "used to get 'em for in [city nearby]." Look online for local offset or risograph print shops, which can be cheaper at high volume. Other tried-and-true methods to get cheap copies include offering to do more labor yourself, fudging the copy count, befriending a copy store worker, or taking a job there. To save some trees and maybe some money, you can often find reams of unused but discarded paper (and staples!) at recycling/junk centers in your area.

7. A word about the internet: It's probably tempting to promote your project on Twitter and other networks. We say it might not be worth it. Trying to "game" the algorithms and amass followers takes a lot of time and energy, and if you succeed, you'll just be generating more value for the capitalists by keeping people scrolling on their website. The revolution will not be surrounded by promoted tweets. Distributing in the real world is the surest way to reach the most people and the broadest audiences. Still, putting a PDF online is always helpful and allows people in other areas to find your work. If you have the raw text, it's important to put that online too so people who use screen readers can access it. This also allows future generations to pick up where you left off and easily build on your great work.

8. Time to distribute! For bonus points, have a launch party at a local community center, library, or bar. If the people you're trying to reach frequent local bookstores, laundromats, coffee/donut shops, or other places where free newspapers live, ask if you can leave copies there. Take shifts passing out the zines where your audience gathers. (Long lines are always captive audiences!) It might be intimidating to pass out provocative words to total strangers, especially if your zine speaks against the place or institution you're flyering at. But you'll find many people are actually quite grateful to receive a hand-made booklet and appreciative of the interaction. Those who aren't will probably just look the other way as they pass by.

9. Grab a stack and repeat! If you have a table, you can put out a donations jar to collect funds for your next print run. If you use Paypal or venmo, you can put the link right in your zine, or – as we prefer – just put an address where people can send well-concealed cash.

# The Ferreri - a voice from solitary



By Scott Culp *#AY8092 California Institute for Men, PO Box 500 Chino, CA 91708*

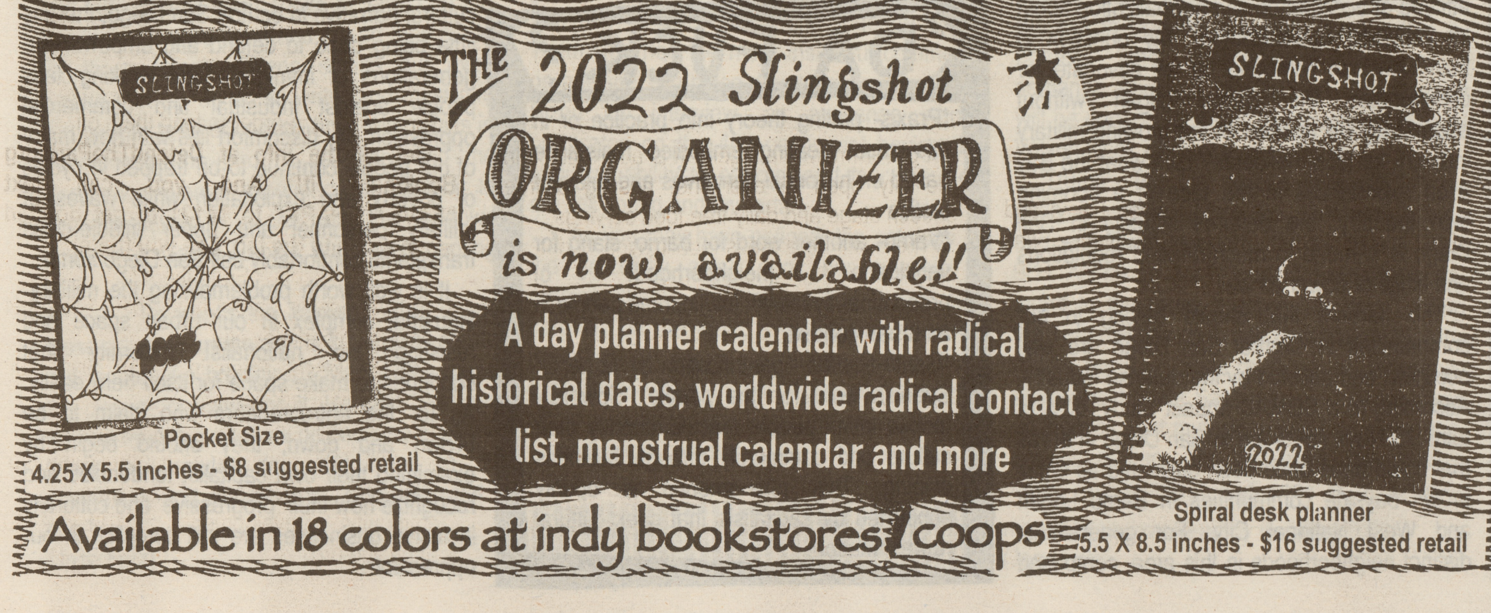
Pioneering cave explorers imagined that a prolonged stay in subterranean caves could permanently dismantle their psyches. In Somerset, England a 17th Century writer described exploring a cave. "We began to be afraid to visit it," he wrote. "Every time we returned we felt sad and pensive."

In the 1980s, in an expedition into a cave called Sarawak Chamber in the Mulu National Park in Borneo, a group of cavers succumbed to the enclosure and fell into a kind of paralytic shock and had to be guided out. The ancient Roman philosopher Seneca described silver miners who encountered phenomena from long-term mental distress, psychic pressure from claustrophobia. And the full tempest of panic as they imagined the ceilings and walls enclosing on them. Ask any chronobiologist who study the innate biological rhythms what the vacuum of solitary confinement does to the psyche. With no sunsets or sunrises, you pass time on a kind of primordial instinct. Like animals in zoos or cages, you pace.

My cage is the downtown County Jail. It actually gets worse, because my charge is armed bank robbery. I'm viewed as an escape risk and leader / organizer by the Sheriff deputies and have been placed here in solitary. I find it difficult to organize my own thoughts, much less lead an uprising against eating bologna sandwiches everyday!

Jails are the front lines of bad decisions and little hope. This system creates darkness where light is so desperately needed. There is an urban legend that you leave a piece of yourself in these places. Being isolated, you become adroit at communicating with your fellow condemned: reading lips, American Sign Language, passing lines, or speaking through a vent.

Yesterday I spoke with a kid from Stockton, CA. For hours we shared our life experiences vis-a-vis the vent. He was in jail for a probation violation. Although he lived in Stockton, he worked at the Costco in Tracy, CA. After speaking with him for a while, something just wasn't adding up. He said he was part-time but left for work at 4 am and didn't return home until the evening. Finally he admitted that he was embarrassed to tell me that he didn't own a car. For those of you not familiar with Northern California, Stockton is about 18 miles from the outskirts of Tracy. Can you believe that he was embarrassed to walk 18 miles a day to a part-time job? There is always an uncanny mixture of bravado amongst a den of thieves, however, any prisoner worth his salt displaces these false veneers and finds within himself elements of authenticity. I'd personally rather befriend someone who walks 18 miles to work then someone who drives a Ferrari. A lot of us here have lost sight of the beauty in the struggle. His story emboldened me to look deeper within myself and focus and listen to that inward voice as opposed to the echo of my footsteps resounding in his concrete cave.



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# new Labor:

## making a new era of worker solidarity

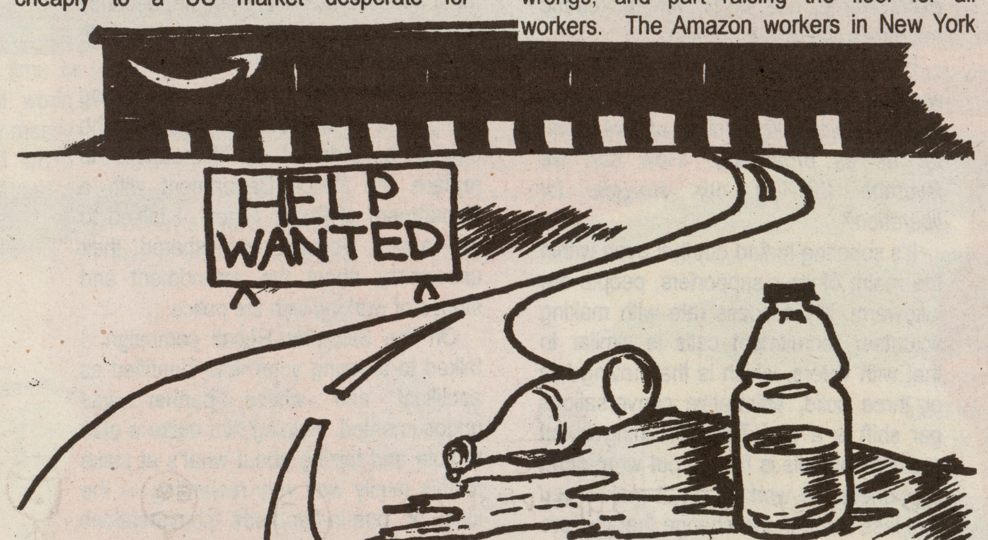
By Tia Mo

I was a union kid — on the picket line at 9 years old for my step-mom's teaching contract. We talked about how working conditions affected the quality of education. I saw their solidarity win a new contract, and even in the 2007 recession, being union protected their pensions. Now, with US union participation at a century's low but back in the public dialogue, we have a chance to create broader solidarity and counterbalance the insatiable demands of corporate management. Labor organizing within capitalism doesn't free us from the machine, but we are responsible for improving conditions now even as we struggle against industrial exploitation more generally.

Corporate media has been in an uproar over working class people failing to submit to the minimum wage demands of multinational corporations. "For Hire" signs have been turned into memes, either to show the pittance bosses are offering or suggest that regular people should get a job. Perhaps current low unemployment numbers have been affected by folks saving their COVID unemployment benefits (only considered generous in the US); perhaps it was facing a global emergency that forced people to scoff at crumbs; perhaps it was the utter lack of social support for families when schools closed. I'm dreaming that enough Americans are dreaming of life out from under the yoke that the labor movement can be reborn.

In the 1950s, more than 30% of US workers were protected as union members, and this influenced everyone's terms of employment. Job security, regular pay increases, and pensions were on the table for blue and white collar workers. Today, about 10% are union members, and corporations would like you to forget about the unions and their benefits.

Why the change? Capitalists don't like unions, because employees are the largest expense to a business, and unions negotiate for better pay, benefits, and conditions. Any veneer of protective paternalism has faded from corporate culture, and at-will employment — meaning workers can quit or be fired for no reason without notice — is the national standard that gives businesses the upper hand in setting terms of employment. The rise of globalization meant that companies could pay pennies for wages in countries without safety or discrimination protection and still ship goods cheaply to a US market desperate for distraction from the suffering of capitalism. All the while, US workers can't even get a weekly schedule, let alone a reliable, fair contract.



Union organizing has its problems, and the right is using those problems to further racist divisions in the country. We will need to address these tactics to wrest the future of workers from ongoing exploitation. US unions have historically been racially exclusive, as well as gender exclusive, and it never really works to only protect some people. White people chose (choose?) not to see that Black workers excluded from unions were sometimes forced to take work as scabs, and that the solution is to make labor organizing an inclusive endeavor. Not just to allow in BIPOC workers, but to center their concerns and experiences. The anti-racist platform is about fixing broken systems, not just dangling empty opportunities to compete with privileged white folks for work. Because unions often provide living wage, entry level work with real advancement, folks who haven't had access to technical or academic training can still get in the door. When labor amplifies the needs of BIPOC workers, it will be part justice for old wrongs, and part raising the floor for all workers. The Amazon workers in New York who are trying to unionize will improve conditions for all workers if they win a union (still pending at publication). The routine practice of primarily hiring Black and Latinx workers for lower-wage warehouse work and treating them as expendable means that the work of securing union benefits for all has fallen on the shoulders of people treated most poorly by the system. History shows us that plantation wealth, agri-business wealth, and railroad wealth were all accrued disproportionately on the backs of BIPOC Americans. And here, once again, America is rebuilt disproportionately on BIPOC labor and subjugation.

The rich right still wants to control unions, to keep working and middle class white Americans separated from BIPOC Americans who share their class experience. Capitalism depends on this divide & conquer strategy. No matter how imaginary race might be, racism has real consequences in limiting solidarity work. We have to see color, see racism, and see solidarity.

If organizers can address these problems, I have hope that structural change is possible. Kinks in the supply chain also mean a kink in the global employment chain. Local production is more expensive because it's harder to exploit a neighbor who knows their EEOC and OSHA rights — and that's a good thing! Record numbers of strikes this fall and low unemployment signal that people are both valuing their time and demanding value for their labor. If childcare is more expensive than wages, why go back to work? (Okay — gendered home labor is another article in itself.) If we can make joyful lives with less throw-away stuff and focus on community, might that be a better life?

Capitalism wants this autumn to be only a short-term bottleneck in their plan to eat the planet, but we have each other and the right to concerted activity (ie, organizing). Solidarity is one of the few protections at-will workers can rely on. If you're stuck in capitalism without a worker cooperative or a union job, you have the right to gather with co-workers, figure out your grievances and fight for better conditions. We've already been through this once, with the brutal repression of Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) organizers during the pre-WW2 era. Luckily, the folks before us gave us some ground to stand on. It's our job to grow an anti-racist populism that supports people and families with living wages, family leave, childcare, and adequate benefits to counter the hysteria of Trump's caucus. We can dream of capitalism falling under its own decrepit weight, and we can also work to keep each other fed until that day comes.

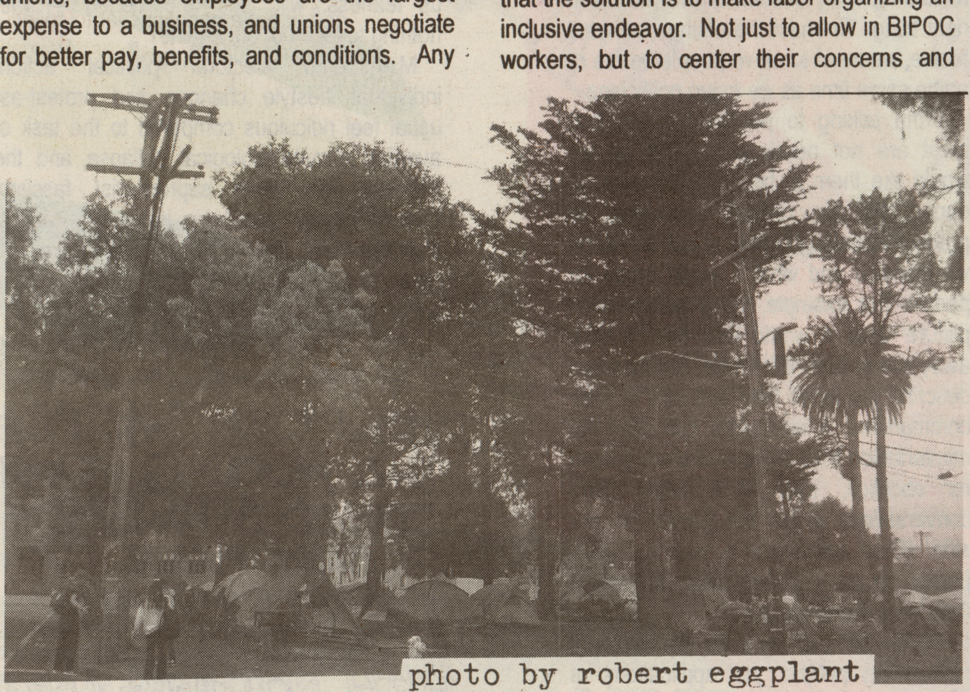


photo by robert eggplant

photo by robert eggplant

# People's Park

## BULLDOZER ALERT!

## not going anywhere

By Rosebud Van People

It's official: People's Park in Berkeley is condemned land. The University of California (UC) regents have approved destruction of the park to build high-rise dormitories. Or, that's what it says on paper anyway! For 50 years now, every time they've put up fences, people have torn them down. (The university and the city council last ordered in the bulldozers in 1992. How's that going?) All this latest decision means is UC has committed to stick their fingers into the hornets' nest. Maybe we should send them a good luck charm, because as the phrase goes: "They try it, we riot!" And we win. Why would this coming year be any different?

People's Park, located between Haste and Dwight Streets east of Telegraph Avenue, was constructed without permission in 1969 to create a beautiful community on vacant UC land. UC's first attempt to seize back and destroy the park led to rioting, police shootings that left bystander James Rector dead and dozens wounded, and a week-long National Guard occupation of Berkeley. UC has always claimed to own the park, but since 1969 they have never been able to control it. Over the years, park users have practiced "user development" by building and tending gardens, trees and landscaping as determined by users, not government managers. It is a rare place in the city open to everyone, hosting a free speech stage and daily free food servings.

There will be a mass mobilization to defend the Park in Berkeley, probably in 2022. Get ready! People's Park isn't going anywhere.

There are several groups working on various fronts to save the park. Each is doing important work, and each has flaws. Organizing at the park has been pretty toxic this year. Be wary of cult-like thinking (the park is considered the last bastion of the 60s, after all). Bring visions of what land and community could be without state interference. The university has a lot of money, so we have to be out in numbers in order to fend them off.

**Get all the info at DefendThePark.org Bookmark it! And you can text "SAVETHEPARK" to 74121 to get notified when shit hits the fan. See you there!**

Have comments? Send them to:

- UC Chancellor Carol Christ (510) 642-7464 chancellor@berkeley.edu
- Mayor Jesse Arreguín (510) 981-7100 mayor@CityofBerkeley.info
- Rigel Robinson, City Council, District 7: (510) 981-7170 rrobinson@CityofBerkeley.info
- Housing developer Resources for Community Development: (510)841-4410 rcdhousing.org

# It's Your Call

## Phonebanking as an Organizing Tool

By Yvonne Su

While the pandemic and algorithms force organizers to get more creative, there are some tools that don't go out of style. Organizing begins with talking to people one on one. That hasn't changed. Electoral campaigns (for candidates and issues) still spend huge amounts of money and people power to knock on doors and make calls. While these campaign goals are mainstream, the conversations from canvassing apply to organizers working toward liberation. My experience calling voters about the California Governor recall gave me a broader perspective on where people are at and how we might move them to join us in the good fight.

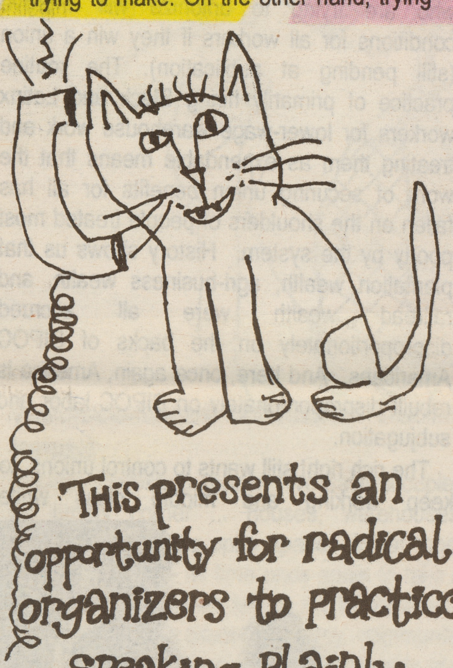
Before I began phone banking, I questioned how effective calls would be when so few people now pick up their phones, let alone talk to a stranger. As discouraging as the experience sometimes was, it affirmed the tedious work of making progress. Hearing hundreds of refusals from real people does change you. It also really drives home the idea that moving the needle happens one person, one supporter at a time — tough, but definitely doable.

Between August and September, I made thousands of dials that resulted in hangups and refusals, and talked to about 600 voters. There is nothing at all radical about keeping Governor Gavin Newsom in office, but seeing the amount of work, people and money it takes to keep an elected Democrat in office opened my eyes to how difficult making actual change in this state and country is. The kind of sea change we'd like to see is unlikely to happen electorally, but that doesn't mean we give up and cede ground to conservatives.

Here are some of my findings from talking to voters:

- The idea of the next generation being more engaged is appealing, but the truth is they are no less capitalist and selfish than previous generations. Youth still need to be organized, and they can't be counted as automatic allies.
- Your most enthusiastic allies may not be in the constituencies you expect. I found really enthusiastic Asian, Latinx, and older white voters voting NO on the recall, and in some cases, getting their whole family to vote no. This is really the beauty of canvassing: talking to individuals and breaking through the narratives about who your supporters and opponents are.
- Even in such an unradical campaign like Stop the Recall, there is still a lot of organizing muscle to exercise, like asking for commitment, staying upbeat and being personable as best as you can.
- People express their pain points in many different ways. For example, claiming to "do [their] own research" is an expression of distrust in the media. Voting YES on the recall is a way to voice displeasure at how life has been during COVID. Seeing people's choices as an expression of what hurts them makes the refusals a little easier to take.
- For a large number of voters, not wanting a Republican governor is a valid reason to vote. *What does all this mean for us as organizers? How can we leverage this in our struggle for liberation?*

It's sobering to find out that even within the realm of your supporters, people are lukewarm. My success rate with making volunteer recruitment calls is similar to that with voters, which is that having two or three solid, affirmative conversations per shift is a win. The best thing about recruitment calls is finding out what other supporters are working on. It makes you feel less alone in the change that you are trying to make. On the other hand, trying to get people to make calls can be a hard ask for that exact reason: It's hard to feel hugely successful as a canvasser. Nonetheless, contact is best made one person at a time, and being honest and direct about what you are asking people to do is best.



THIS presents an opportunity for radical organizers to practice speaking plainly about the world we envision & what it would mean for people.

Do not sugarcoat the canvassing experience for volunteers! The right people will join you. Even if we are small in numbers, we can build winning margins by ones, tens and hundreds at a time.

For people who are invested and have the kind of temperament (aka thick skin and short memories) for canvassing, deep canvassing is a great option. Deep canvassing is a technique that grew out of the fight for marriage equality. In the aftermath of Prop 8 in 2008, the Los Angeles LGBT Center talked to voters who were against same sex marriage. They began by asking the voter an open-ended question, then connecting the voter's story to the cause. It's the most involved kind of canvassing, but also the most effective at shifting people, because the organizer's job is to meet people where they are at.

One of the deep canvassing campaigns I worked on was for the charter amendment in Minneapolis to replace the Police Department with a Department of Public Safety. I talked to two social workers who shared their uncertainty about the amendment and stories of working with the police.

On the Stop the Recall campaign, I talked to a young voter who identified as apolitical and whose partner was undocumented. Helping him make a plan to vote and talking about what's at stake for his family was very rewarding — the kind of one-in-hundreds conversations that justifies why we call at all.

That said, phone banking is not for everyone. Getting refusals and aggression on the phone is hard. People tend to not see callers as real human beings because there's no face to attach to the voice. It takes a kind of stamina to phonebank because you don't get the kind of regenerative energy from an in-person action with a group of people.

As much as it can feel like pulling teeth, I will continue to make calls to the extent that I can. The fact is, politicians and elections are not going away anytime soon. And politicians are going to do the rewarding thing instead of the risky and right thing. To enact the change we want to see, we need to move people before or at the same time as we move politicians.

From talking to people, I found that most are not nearly as radical as we would like them to be. This presents an opportunity for radical organizers to practice speaking plainly about the world we envision and what it would mean for people. For example, many people can't picture what it would look like to take away power from the police, but they can describe the times they feel safe in their communities. A canvasser can start the conversation from there and plant a seed for abolition, even if it takes thirty conversations to get the person on our side. (Each canvasser is warming up a person for the next canvasser, who might then have more success.)

Once I got over my initial discomfort of cold-calling people, the applications of phone banking became vast. We don't all have the funds for auto-dialing software or contact lists, but we do have phones and our voices. In a more radical version of the world, I would love to make calls to invite people to pop-up clinics and groceries in our neighborhoods, turn out people for a vigil, or talk to people who've been isolated. The most powerful thing about phone banking is cutting through mass media and helping people see that a real, living and breathing person supports this outcome and is investing time and risking rejection to talk to them about it. Most people respect that dedication, whether they are on board with us or not.

In conclusion, phone banking is hard. It's also a practice in persistence and invitation. It's a great way to practice agitating and gently bugging people, one at a time, to join us.

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# BLOW

## CONSIDE

By Jesse D. Palmer

Perhaps during scary times like these, our best hope is to focus on love and caring to give us the superpowers we need to avert apocalypse. Corporations, computers and oppressive power structures cannot experience or comprehend love — and therefore it is one of the last things we still have that is beyond their control. Love is the basis for solidarity and community — kryptonite against capitalism's mindless expansion that threatens to kill us unless we can rise up and stop it in time.

A better world starts with giving a shit — which is really an expression of love for yourself, those around you, and the earth itself. Love isn't weak or passive or boring — it is fierce, its active and requires constant effort, and its full of risk and yet exhilaration when it works out.

All our efforts to defend the earth from climate suicide and to struggle for justice and a better world ultimately start not with a focus on what we're *against* — problems and complaints — but rather what we're *for.* Life and the world are filled with pleasure, beauty and wonder when they aren't spoiled by greed, power and inhumane systems.

I'm writing this not because I'm super optimistic and fired up. No — the last few months I've been deeply discouraged and beaten down by so much bad news that it's hard to see any alternative to doom. I could barely write this article, really. I feel like I've been writing the same things for 30 years, and the world keeps getting worse. It seems like we're all stunned and stuck — incapable of creating a massive uprising at precisely the moment we need it the most. How can we flip the mood so that dread and desperation make us fearless, wild and unburdened — with nothing to lose but our chains?

Mainstream electoral political action, individual lifestyle changes and protest-as-usual feel ridiculous compared to the task of averting climate/ecological collapse and the descent into white supremacist fascism. Climate chaos, economic inequality, racism, disinformation, fascism — each make the other worse and all require dramatic social shifts not just tinkering.

A lot of people are ready to do something — but what will work? The problem isn't mostly political — its social-psychological. We need magic and miracles for a broad-based popular uprising that shifts the structures holding back change.

HOW CAN WE FLIP THE MOOD SO THAT DREAD & DESPERATION MAKE US FEARLESS, WILD, & UNBURDENED — WITH NOTHING LEFT TO LOSE BUT OUR CHAINS?

While popular movements have been stalled, capitalism is dynamic — every year chewing up more land, emitting more CO2, displacing more people, concentrating more wealth and placing greater power into fewer hands. The system's status quo doesn't mean there's no change in our lives. Rather, allowing the status quo to remain guarantees rapid harmful change that are out of our hands.

I find it terrifying and infuriating. The billionaires and their corporations are toying with the future of millions of species — life in the ocean — great cities that will go underwater — a future where we cannot grow

# ving in the Wind

## RING OFFSHORE WIND POWER

ough food. They are playing like a few ions of dollars in shareholder pockets are rth more than redwood trees and whales d bears.

But beyond all these emotions tearing me s way and that way, I sometimes come to a et place of determination and certainty. It is to us. Relying on the system or trying to ore what is going on is suicide for ourselves d negligent homicide for the species with om we share this planet. Birds and plants ve no way to stop human emissions, but ch of us human beings does — in small ys and larger ways.

We're in an emergency which means we ve to stop worrying so much about whether

contributions will make a difference and s on doing anything and everything we in every realm, all that the same time.

pecifically, this means reversing economic ems and technologies that pollute the h locally, globally, personally — orations, plastics, CO2 — all of it. It's time op hoping someone else will do something laming this on someone else as an excuse o nothing. Saving ourselves will require ing and sharing concentrated wealth and er and addressing historical injustice — dictators harness racism and nationalism rn powerless people against each other.

e need to aim for solutions that scale and to win. Putting our energy into projects are just nibbling at the corners of the em's power is an admission that we've dy lost. Those in power don't play that — they exaggerate their skills and capacity then turn in disappointing results. Our — maybe we think we're being realistic — requently assumes we cannot do anything matters very much.

e economic and political system has ed that it cannot stop climate change. than half of the emissions since 1791 been over the last 30 years despite all climate studies and international meetings g the last 3 decades.

e need to stop letting the perfect be the ny of the good. We know that capitalism hierarchy are the problem, but that isn't an se to sit off to the side keeping our ciences and hands clean praying it will all pse and refusing to participate until it does. Systems don't topple on their own — they need our help — and it takes persistent work that may not bear fruit right away or be very sexy.

While capitalism still exists, we have to be pragmatic and do whatever we can within it — while still articulating and promoting a totally different post-capitalist world. We don't have to choose — we can do both. We no longer have the time or luxury to live in a fantasy theoretical world that only exists in books. Life's very messy — mostly shades of grey not black and white — and so if we can cut emissions and fight wealth consolidation by acting now within today's fundamentally corrupt systems, we have to hold our nose and do what we can. In some situations it may be possible to promote non-reformist reforms.

About a quarter of US and global emissions are from electrical generation — more than any other single sector globally and second only to transportation in the US. Solar and wind power are finally cheaper than fossil fueled electricity so a transition is technically and economically feasible, but it's happening too slowly to avert climate catastrophe. Public pressure and mobilization to support solar and wind and oppose natural gas and coal power plants can make a meaningful difference and are a good place to focus energy. This is especially because power infrastructure is located close to every city and town — these are local struggles.

As important as opposing pipelines, mines, coal terminals, and fracking is *supporting* wind and solar installations — and even better to organize with the workers who build them. There is a lot of opposition to anything new — it's human nature to dislike change and giant industrial developments are often harmful. But we can no longer afford the intellectual laziness of being knee jerk against every new thing. We have to be open to change when the harms caused by the new technology are clearly less than the harms of existing systems. One needs to carefully study technology to separate greenwashing and false solutions — nuclear power, blue hydrogen, clean coal, carbon capture, natural gas as a bridge fuel — from better technologies like solar and wind.

A tangible example of a technology with promise is offshore wind. The US currently only has 42 megawatts of installed offshore wind. Meanwhile, the UK has 10,206 megawatts. To decarbonize US electricity, offshore wind has big advantages over land-based windmills since the wind is stronger and blows more consistently at sea. Offshore wind is closer to major population centers on the coasts. It is now possible to install windmills on floating platforms so they can be farther out to sea and located in deeper water, such as off the coast of California, Oregon and Washington.

It is easy to imagine a lot of people saying "aw let's keep the coasts wild, let's put those windmills somewhere else" but the problem is that if everyone says not in my backyard everywhere, how are we going to ditch fossil fuels? Should windmills only be built near more politically powerless people? Fossil fuel installations mess up the oceans, too — an oil spill is worse than any windmill's impacts. It's only fair to compare the real local ecological impacts windmills will have against the global, long-term damage CO2 emissions have on the oceans and all other ecosystems on earth.

While working on this article I looked at plans under consideration to install floating windmills off the California coast near San Luis Obispo. They would feed power ashore to the current site of the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant, which is scheduled to close in 2025. Many power lines converge at Diablo Canyon, so putting windmills offshore nearby would avoid the need to build new transmission lines. The floating windmills can be located 17-40 miles offshore, so although they would be visible from shore, they'll be hard to see. During construction the project would require new port facilities in Morro Bay and once operational the windmills will kill some birds and can impact marine life. There's a good 2021 article from *EcoWatch* about how offshore wind construction and operation can be done more ecologically that points out that climate change threatens 2/3 of bird species — far away from windmill sites — if windmills are not built.

This may sound boring, reformist or actually worse than doing nothing — not Slingshot-ty or revolutionary — but I'm tired of limiting myself to symbolism, generalities and always saying "no" to everything. We need to be specific about what we want and realistic that nothing in the real world is going to be perfect. Humans have ecological impacts — no one who has electricity is willing to give it up and those who don't have it yet want it. There are better and worse choices, and doing nothing is certain doom.

Grief has five stages — denial, anger, bargaining, depression, acceptance — and we're going through that now about the need to change how we're living. When you suggest specific ways of decarbonizing, you hear a lot of denial and bargaining. "The US uses twice as much electricity as other countries — people should conserve first." "The windmills will be built by corporations — they should be owned publicly." Fine points — but not valid excuses for delaying construction of windmills and solar to replace fossil fueled electricity.

It is time to focus on struggles close to home. If you go to a climate protest in San Francisco, you'll see a lot of signs about Line 3 far away in the midwest — but there's pipelines and fracking and struggles right here in California. We need to stop protesting just for symbolic value and yet avoid getting too bogged down in the specifics of any particular project — losing sight of the big picture. Stopping a single pipeline isn't enough. The fossil fools have figured out they can throw us a few crumbs by stopping a particular pipeline to dissipate public pressure so they can keep their overall system going.

When I was a teenage radical we protested apartheid in South Africa but couldn't grapple so well with the racism right in our midst. A particularly strong part of the Occupy movement 10 years ago was that every town had its own occupation — we didn't all have to go to Wall Street. That local focus allowed our movement to be much more broad-based, diverse and at least potentially related to local conditions. Where Occupy stumbled was that we weren't able to turn popular momentum into tangible economic or political improvements.

It's time to ditch protest rituals that depend on shaming and pressuring leaders. If we've learned anything, it's that those in charge have no shame.

We're in an emergency — so it's appropriate to bring up climate, fascism and inequality in all our conversations and social contexts. My friends and I carried climate change protest signs while trick-or-treating with our kids. William Shatner — by far the least socially aware Star Trek actor — made a powerful appeal after going into space on the Amazon space penis: "[We're] ruining this planet ... we're at the tipping point. We haven't got time to wait 30 years and argue about a few billion dollars." We all know this — it's time to say it out loud and build an uprising stronger than oil companies and inertia. I want every B-grade celebrity to say this stuff. When will climate change be on the front page every day rather than on page A14 just during global summit meetings?

WE NEED TO STOP LETTING the PERFECT BE the ENEMY OF THE GOOD.

The seemingly impossible can and must happen now — we've gotta get together and overthrow the 1%, share the wealth in fair and lovely ways, and build a new sustainable world. The illogic of endless growth is a cancer that will kill us — but our collective shared passion for life can save us if we can summon the courage.

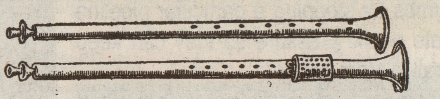
# Another Option Radical Space Tour

Compiled by Jesse D. Palmer

The *2022 Slingshot organizer* Radical Contact List was printed in June, 2021, and since then we've uncovered the following additions and corrections. Community spaces and the radical social networks they represent are some of the only threads pushing back against a suicidal system bend on gobbling up the world's resources and sucking our lives dry with its soulless jobs. The apocalypse is not yet inevitable, but we're running out of time to organize and fight back.

Radical spaces offer another option – a creative place where we can hatch plans and nurture each other. The pandemic has been hard on counter-cultural projects grounded in un-mediated human contact. A lot of the projects in the Radical Contact List depend on a trickle of new folks constantly joining up — and this pipe has run dry the last 2 years. So if you're near one of these projects, by all means introduce yourself, volunteer for a shift, drop off some cash and schedule an event. (Hint hint – if you're in the East Bay, Long Haul and Omni Commons want to meet you.)

If you know of a new space opening up or you catch an error in the contact list, email slignshotcollective@protonmail.com The most updated Radical Contact List information is at slingshotcollective.org/contacts.



**Sperryville ARTist Cooperative – Sperryville, VA**

An artist gallery coop that hosts events and resident driven community art projects and causes. 3 River Lane, Studio 1a, Sperryville, VA 22740 540-987-9288 livingsky.org

**Radical Mental Health Collective – Rhode Island**

Mental health providers & educators "who radically believe in a free world & alternative space to the oppressive healthcare system." They have a post-demo arrest, jail and court mental health support line. 1155 Westminster St Ste 205 Providence, RI 02909 401-484-7885 rmhrci.org

**Lions Tooth – Milwaukee, WI**

Bookstore / cafe that hosts events. Features small press books and graphic novels. Open Mon-Sat 11-7 Sun 11-5 2421 S Kinnickinnic Ave. Milwaukee, WI 53207 414-455.3498 lionstoothmke.com

**F12 Infoshop – Charlottesville, VA**

Self-described leftist, anarchist, antifascist shop selling books, zines, records, stickers and other sources of radical information. 1740 Broadway St. Studio West, Suite 12 Charlottesville, VA 22902 f12infoshop@gmail.com

AB AC
AB ACAB

**Thatsocialcentre collective – Dublin, Ireland**

A library / infoshop space: "We have occupied an empty corner ... houses, warehouses, caravans and wide open space. What more could you want? Its time once again to take a space that has been left to rot by profiteers and turn it into a place of energy, community and resistance!" They seek to host events and resist eviction. 57 Aughrim St, Stoneybatter, Dublin 7, Ireland Thatsocialcentre@protonmail.com.

**Grassroots Al-Quds – Jerusalem, Palestine**

A non-profit that supports Palestinian sumoud (steadfastness and resilience) in Al-Quds (Jerusalem) that makes maps, sponsors tours and creates educational media. 9 Harun Al-Rashid St. Jerusalem, Palestine +972-2-966-5655 grassrootsalquds.net

**BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency & Refugee Rights – Bethlehem, West Bank, Palestine**

An independent, human rights non-profit organization committed to protect and promote the rights of Palestinian refugees and internally displaced persons. Karkafa St. (down from Bethlehem Hotel) Bethlehem, West Bank, Palestine badil.org

**A.M. Qattan Foundation – Ramallah, Palestine**

An independent, not-for-profit developmental organization with a social center working in the fields of culture and education, with a particular focus on children, teachers and young artists. 27 An-Nahda Women Association St. Al-Tira- Ramallah, Palestine qattanfoundation.org

**Okupa El Banco – Mexico City**

A squatted bank that hosts tons of events. Av. Lourdes 176 55130 Ecatapec de Morelos CDMX el.banco.sanagus@gmail.com

**Corrections to the 2022 Organizer**

- Oops – the Las Vegas Zine Library was left out of organizer – The address is 4505 S Maryland Pkwy Las Vegas, Nevada 89119.
- Little Read Book lost their space – their new mailing address is PO Box 18997 Denver, CO 80218. They can mail free books to prisoners and ask that inmates tell them: 1.) type of books allowed at your facility (new/used, hardcover/softcover), 2.) how many they can send at once in a package, 3.) what authors or genres you like, 4.) if you are interested in books on radical politics.
- Revolutionary Grounds Books and Coffee is now at 4675 E Speedway Blvd, Tucson, AZ 85712 520-838-0533.
- We left out South Bend Commons at 1799 Lakewood Terrace SE, Atlanta, GA 30315.
- Backspace in Fayetteville, AR has closed.
- The correct phone number for Old Capitol Books in Monterey, CA is 831-747-1322.
- The Matchbox in Minneapolis was left off the contact list by mistake. They are at 1306 2ns St. NE. Minneapolis, MN.
- Mutiny Info Cafe has opened a second location in Trinidad, Colorado – on I-25 near the border with New Mexico. The space is a coffee shop / book & comic shop / record store and event space. 135 E. Main St Trinidad, CO
- Rincon Zapatista in Mexico city is no longer a cafe you can go to. It is just a place you can go on Sundays to buy Zapatista products.

NOTE TO INMATES: The addresses listed are not necessarily able to send you materials unless otherwise noted.

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# Patriarchy is Cute! Culture of Domination

By Steve Brady

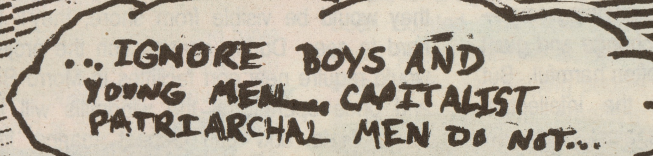
*"As ugly as a teenage millionaire, pretending it's a whiz kid world ..."*
-David Bowie, "Teenage Wildlife"

Trying to be a palatable dude, I was reading bell hooks's *The Will to Change: Men, Masculinity, and Love.* I came across this fascinating bit:

*"While feminism may ignore boys and young males, capitalist, patriarchal men do not. It was adult, wealthy white males in this country who first read and fell in love with the Harry Potter books ... J.K. Rowling's Harry Potter books are clever modern reworkings of the English schoolboy novel. Harry as our modern day hero is the super smart, gifted, blessed white boy genius (a mini patriarch) ... the Harry Potter movies glorify the use of violence to maintain control over others ... "*

From someone who writes a lot about love, that's some beautiful hate! I never found the franchise that interesting: I read a chapter or two of the first book then it wandered off into the recesses of the punk house, and someone took me to the first movie but I don't remember the story. All too bland to even dislike. But in 2004, long before Rowling became notorious for public transphobia, bell hooks saw the looming patriarchal potential there. She continues:

*"Of course American children were bombarded with an advertising blitz telling them they should read these books. Harry Potter began as national news sanctioned by mass media. Books that do not re-inscribe patriarchal masculinity do not get the approval the Harry Potter books have received ... The phenomenal financial success of Harry Potter means that boys will henceforth have an array of literary clones to choose from."*


... IGNORE BOYS AND YOUNG MEN... CAPITALIST PATRIARCHAL MEN DO NOT...

At this I realized two other very successful books I hate, *Ready Player One* and *The Road*, convey the same brand of isn't-that-cute patriarchy—why do people I respect see visions of a better, more beautiful world in these things? Something strange is going on.

Marketing a game novel myself, I heard I should cite Ernest Cline's *Ready Player One* as a comparable title. There's some superficial similarities—find an artifact in a game to control the real world—and the movie was tolerable by Hollywood standards. So I got *Ready Player One* from the local library ... and I was like OMG, it just replaced *The Road* as the most overrated book in English.

Disturbingly and offensively bad, it's a sorta Game-Lit *Fifty Shades of Grey*, but while the latter was a guilty pleasure, people actually claim this blockbuster debut novel is good. I looked up some articles by people who hated it, and none of them touched on what was horrible to me:

It starts with fifty pages of sheer backstory tell. Common advice to beginners: your world isn't as original as you think, and you need an actual story. Or at least throw in an active sentence every page or so. It's already risky to depend on pure world-building, but Cline doesn't have a particularly good world. Nor protagonist: it takes me fifty pages to even dislike the guy.

Yet what most offends me is that the boy supposedly lost his useless parents young, has maybe one friend and no early positive attachment, and while a damaged person can have a good heart, this guy is eager, chipper and industrious. Research since the Vietnam War has shown that trauma resilience comes from human connection. Instead he's pulling himself up by his bootstraps in the style of Horatio Alger—oh, that's why those other critics attack him on class, gender and race stuff. Did y'all ever have to write an autobiographical essay in high school? This reads like a privileged twit turning in a hastily written Prank essay.

Yet as bell hooks might predict:

*"Ernest Cline, a self proclaimed Star Wars fan, writer of the film Fanboys, has nabbed a six-figure upfront deal for his first novel Ready Player One. Warner Bros. in conjunction with De Line Pictures won the bidding war for rights to the sci-fi adventure book shortly after Cline just secured*

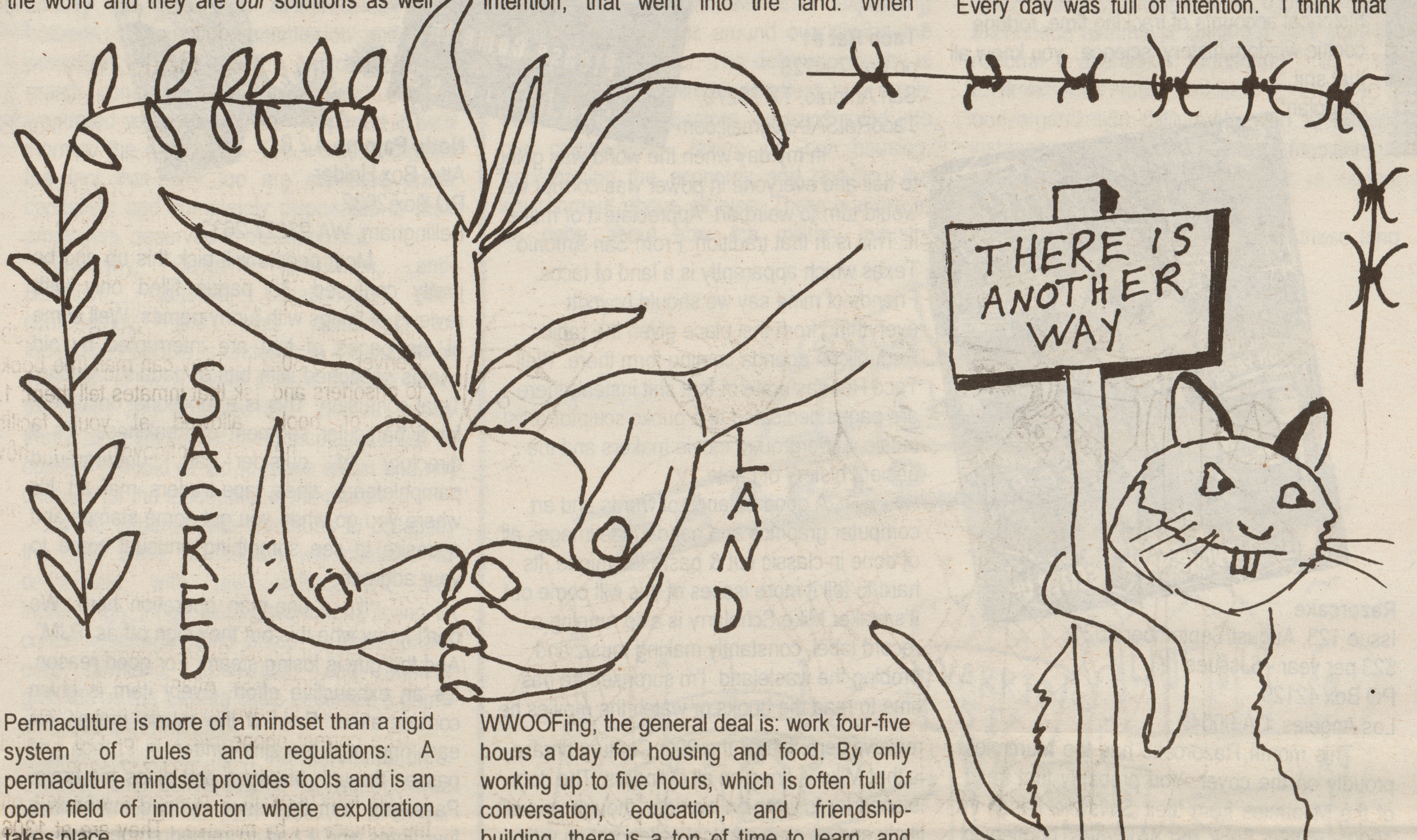
Continued on Page 11

# Ongoing Abundance

## Working Where your heart is

Continued from Page 1

construct; people live within nature and are a part of it. While this distinction may be helpful for describing ideas such as permaculture, it can be harmful to our understanding as living beings that share this world with numerous other living beings. However, when we blur the line between nature and humanity, permaculture actually makes a lot more sense — of course we should be looking at the "natural" world for solutions, we are a part of the world and they are *our* solutions as well



Permaculture is more of a mindset than a rigid system of rules and regulations: A permaculture mindset provides tools and is an open field of innovation where exploration takes place.

The first rule of permaculture is to observe and then interact. Observation can last as long as it is needed and is ongoing. In order to interact with the land, it is important to observe it for at least a year to fully understand how the seasons interact with it, especially if you intend on building structures, collecting water, and growing food. I also learned the importance of zones. At this homestead, there were different zones which determined the layout of the land: The garden and kitchen were closest to living structures as they are frequently visited; in the middle of the property there are berry bushes, a composting toilet, and the shower; then the property is guarded by a guild (collection of plants that provide support for one another), a chicken coop, and larger trees. This design organically unfolded to adhere to the needs of the people living there and mitigate their energy expenditure.

When I first arrived at the homestead, I was overwhelmed by every detail, every bit of intention, that went into the land. When WWOOFing, the general deal is: work four-five hours a day for housing and food. By only working up to five hours, which is often full of conversation, education, and friendship-building, there is a ton of time to learn, and time to create, relax, cook good food, and create community.

During this time, I lived in a wooden hut, somewhat like a glorified bed frame with a roof above my head and wooden pillars elevating the mattress off the ground, which opened its door to Sauk Mountain. Every day, I watched the raspberry sky fade behind the mountain's face. Admittedly, the living situation was rustic, but the lack of space pushed me outside and gave me a greater appreciation for what I did have. This hut became somewhat sacred to me: the beginning and ending of my days all coiled under one roof.

Although each day began and ended the same way, with a reflection period, everything in-between wildly ranged from canning parties, where four pots of boiling water were going and hundreds of cans of food were preserved, to harvesting medicinal herbs and making tinctures, to visiting nearby farms and assisting in their harvest. Every day was full of diversity. Every day was full of intention. I think that may be one of my favorite parts of my WWOOFing experience: without the distractions, or the business, of everyday life, time blossoms and becomes plentiful. Instead of rushing from once place to another through a general medium of anxious thought, I was present in every task. And, at the end of the day, everyone living on the homestead would gather around a communal meal and give thanks. Despite having the least amount of material goods, I have never heard so many people sing praise to the ongoing abundance festooned around our little community.

I continued to WWOOF down the west coast and ended up working on an organic winery where I'd wake up in the morning and squish grapes under my feet. Then, I found myself in Big Sur living on the top of a mountain in a small artists' homestead. Now I'm in Arizona, sitting in a sun-dried chair thinking about earth ships and what kind of kingdom I'd like to build from clay, sand, and straw. Along the way, I have met characters and some of the most inspirational people I've ever known.

Whenever people call and ask what I've learned, I feel this sense of fear: How could I ever encapsulate all of the lessons I've learned, all of the stories, people I've met? While that may be a futile effort, I do believe that one of my biggest revelations from this ongoing journey is that there is a myriad of beautiful ways to live life outside of the heteronormative, capitalistic, consumeristic society that seems to be hanging over the United States like a cold, wet blanket. Likewise, some of our greatest solutions are working in hidden corners, and although it may be hard to see, gears are turning. Lastly, the health of our soil really does correlate to the health of our nation — not to mention ourselves.

> there is a myriad of beautiful ways to live life outside of the heteronormative, capitalistic, consumeristic society that seems to be hanging over the United States like a cold, wet blanket.

# Marketed as Endearing Timeless Fantasies

Continued from Page 10

*publishing rights with Random House."* (fusedfilm.com)

#

The Road isn't a whiz kid novel, but some of the same issues continue. Cormac McCarthy, from movie adaptations I've seen, writes Modern Westerns. Let's just say he centers the experience of white people. The Road is a bit different: a father leads his male child through a post-cataclysmic wasteland where the only other people are bands of unfriendly cannibals. Kinda a white-male-individualist version of the second half of *Parable of the Sower*.

The first thing I noticed was that not only was the book fairly thin, there was a severe excess of white space on the pages. At 59K words, he's marketed a novella as a novel, which he can do because of his previous successes. Add the non-use of quotation marks and other annoyances.

In a world of total evil and chaos, one relationship is the only source of goodness and meaning: a father protecting his son. Isn't that adorable? From a more thoughtful writer perhaps it could be, but here, we remember that "patriarchy" comes from "patri": it means that government, religion and business should be modeled on an authoritarian fatherhood. Thus this shining surviving example of fatherhood is the grain of sand from which proper reality can be restored.

*Although the text does not explicitly mention climate change, The Guardian listed it as one of the five best climate change novels[20] and George Monbiot has called it "the most important environmental book ever written", for depicting a world without a biosphere.* (Wikipedia)

Well he's sure pulled off something clever here. He repackaged the most tired cliches of the post-apocalyptic genre for the literary fiction crown, and they've eaten it up, even while they still claim science fiction is shallow pulp (see Kurt Vonnegut's essay "Science Fiction"). And no it doesn't mention or relate to climate change: the cause of the disaster is unspecified to cowardly attempt to avoid "politics," not realizing that patriarchy is political.

#

Hey, I'm not that woke. I've enjoyed Hemingway, Robert E. Howard, and Heinlein; I appreciate a well-written thoughtful book written by someone with very different values than me. These don't make the cut. Why are they ultra-successful? Was bell hooks not far off the mark when she stopped just short of claiming a conspiracy to shove this stuff down our kids' throats?

We want fantasy and sci-fi to inspire us with visions of a better world. One way to co-opt that is to pull the same liberal trick: not only a privileged elite living in a fantasy world, but the rest us aspiring to be like them, thinking that's what it is to be "truly human."

So the running theme is that, to the surprise of many of us, the epitome of toxic masculinity isn't James Bond or Rambo, it's a smug and annoying male child or teenage boy. Is it that old idea that traditional boys don't have to grow up? Some boys: you may have noted how the media portrays a Black boy as a criminal adult and a white teen as a confused and misguided child. Something like that, but even with men who manage themselves well, every empire, whether military or corporate, is built around protecting a damaged boy from reality and intimacy.

They'll spend a lot of money getting us to adore that cute boy. But when we expose him as the Man Behind the Curtain, we can bring anarchy to Oz.

# DONT BE A

How did we end up having a page regularly dedicated to an archaic way of communicating? Well, in some ways *Slingshot* started off as a zine. These are a sample of the things you can read at our space Long Haul. Get us while we're hot. Otherwise you can reach out to these publishers and get a copy sent to your squat. For best results make your own publication and send it in for trade. I'm pretty sure we would like to carry a copy at Long Haul as well.

New Wave Chicken #9
$4
The Art Issue

**New Wave Chicken** #9 - $4
PO Box 880081
Pukalani, HI 96788

I do remember the 80s. But now, decades later, the images now seem dim; like that single yellow bulb on the bathroom ceiling at CBGBs. Next door there used to be an art gallery, CB's 313 Gallery. There it was, art and punk side by side at 313 and 315 Bowery. Yes, I was there, and I met Joey Ramone too, but it was a long time ago, and despite that, what I remember most are Hammer pants and Max Headroom.

Steve Hart remembers the 1980s with an insight and a gravitas that I do not. Where other zinesters recall kitschy toys, and Saturday morning cartoons, Hart drags out the punk and hardcore flyers from a milk crate in the basement. It's a bit incongruous with his modern life as a Hawaiian chicken farmer; but so be it. It's his own life narrative that connects all the stories. To that extent *New Wave Chicken* might technically be called a perzine.

We all have our strong suits. Not every painter is a writer and vice versa. But still, an artist's perspective on their own work is usually interesting. Both Michael Banks and Michael Peoples commented on the self-expressive purpose of art in general. Peoples displayed an amazing level of self-awareness, spelling out that he felt "...artists in the social justice genre are saying more in the moment than my own work." Travis D. Simmons waxed philosophical and talked shop about mixed media and materials. (As you might expect, he turned out to be a Skinny Puppy fan.) Still there were some duds. Hudley Flipside shared some less than notable poetry.

The best pieces here are the interviews that dig into the connection between music and visual art. Al Garr, Ross Sewage, and Mark Ottens each spoke at length on the bands that inspire them and the art they made for those bands. Ottens stands out even among that lot; an artist, writer and musician. A man with tales of cancer, boys with rabies in Bangladesh, the bird of paradise, and the strangely universal experience of listening to punk cassettes in a car, with the windows down, in a Grand Rapids Walgreens parking lot.

So what's the answer? What drives these artists to create art? Is the urge to create just innate, like breathing,? Mark Otten came the closest to answering it. He said "Perhaps we end up doing what we do because of all the things we cannot do... We have to do something, and maybe then, I do just what I can."
(Jose Fritz)

**Letterfounder** #202 & 203
PO Box 392
Lewiston, Maine 04243

Each issue of this zine use various styles of texts to...essentially..help you play with your head. Sometimes there is alittle art. Mostly you will find rants, reprints from old books, dreams, poems. Brain farts. Apparently it comes out every month. These issues are part of a spirit zine addendum. Here is historical accounts of tracking time, fortune cookie wisdom,history, science...you know all that shit.
(eggplant)

WOW! ARTICLES ACTUALLY COME OFF THE PAGE AND INVADE YOUR LIFE!
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#123
NEW CONCEPT IN MAGAZINES
WARNING!! ARTICLES RUN LOOSE! SIT ON YOUR LAP! CAN YOU TAKE IT?
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KAROLINE COLLINS
AND
JON MORITSUGU
AMY DAVIS
QUAKE! QUIVER! SHAKE! SHIVER!
Also
MILKY WIMPSHAKE
and
SEIZED UP

**Razorcake**
Issue 123, August/September 2021
$23 per year - 6 issues
PO Box 42129
Los Angeles, CA 90042

This month Razorcake has the Mummies proudly on the cover. You probably first head of the Mummies from their *Shitsville* 7-Inch in 1990, or that *Fuck the Mummies* bootleg in 1991. Perhaps, it's that image on the cover of *Never been Caught* of 4 men wrapped head to toe in rags with the drummer and bassist atop a 1963 Bonneville Ambulance with the band name emblazoned along the side door. They never suffered from an excess of subtlety. It's inevitable that some people will first encounter The Mummies that time they were on the cover of Razorcake way back in the Summer of 2021. Garage rock has been with us for over 50 years but the good stuff never dies. It just gets wrapped in rags to shamble across the stage with a couple cheap Fender guitars and a rented 50 watt PA.

The pinnacle of the issue is a picture of Karoline and Robert Collins posed like Grant Wood's American Gothic painting. Instead of symbolizing rural austerity, they both wear black face masks, and Karoline is in a "Hell is Here" T-shirt. They stand in Wonder Valley, in the Mojave desert. The mood is post-apocalyptic. You know her by her legendary photography. But her first words in the interview are "I like to shoot people."

The interviews in this issue were really strong. Jon Moritsugu and Amy Davis show us how to build an indie film career with a $300 camcorder. Then we have 5 pages of Q& A with Milky Wimpshake, who turn out to be collectively pretty quotable. But it's Pete that goes straight for the cults and politics. Ironically, it was the young ingenue Emily Timm who had the more insightful comments on ageism. The piece dovetails nicely with the Sized Up interview, an exchange wholly predicated on the 40+ contingent having the enduring ability to perform and tour like they are still young and immortal.

As you may have noticed, the ontology of the gracefully aging punk has become a running theme in Razorcake. They tread carefully on the topic, avoiding any mawkish preening or overt pandering. I find their expeditions into punk nostalgia simultaneously ironic and engaging. But I may be biased; I resemble that remark.
(Jose Fritz)

TACO RAT
Vol. 1
Please Come In
San Antonio, TX

**Taco Rat #1**
po box 790728
San Antonio, TX 78279
TacoRatSAtX@gmail.com

In my day when the world was going to hell and everyone in power was corrupt we would turn to weird art. Appreciate it or make it. This is in that tradition. From San Antonio Texas which apparently is a land of tacos. Friends of mine say we should boycott everything from thsi place given the rabid Republican agenda coming form there. Well Taco Rat has none of that shit instead there are pages dedicated to a public sculptor artist, music, underground movie makers and the ancient history of cable TV.

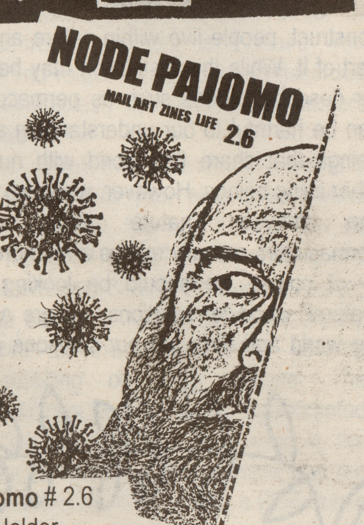
A good balance of words and art, computer graphics and hand made images all of done in classic cut & paste technique. Its hard to tell if more issues of this will come out. It's maker Mike Scholarry is also running a record label, constantly making music and probing the wasteland. I'm surprised he has time to read the books or watch the movies he reviews here. I think the 20th Century phrase is that Mike is firing on all cylinders. The door is open for to jump on his ride...though you will likely end up on a musical collaboration with Mike and have your blood sweat and tears saluted in the next *Taco Rat*.
(eggplant)

**Turning the Tide** January-March 2021
$20 per year - 4 issues
PO Box 1055
Culver City, CA 90232

The articles in this 30-year old quarterly are a mixed bag of academic writings, news, and a little history. Despite the mixed quality of the reprinted material, the hard news here is rock solid, making it a worthwhile read. The cover article, written by Mumia Abu-Jamal, is a poetic reflection from December regarding the literal and metaphorical coldness of death row. It comes paired with a more dense piece by Dave Lindorff from Counterpunch.org with a synopsis of Mumia's most recent appeals. The article on conditions at a Connecticut Women's Prison was short but even more powerful. The piece on Assange is also reprinted from Counterpunch.org but we can forgive this, as the paper is distributed free to more than a thousand prisoners, who generally lack access to this material.

The Spring issue feature is 'United Snakkkes in Africa'. It revisits history over 2-full newsprint pages to explain the persistent problem of making the U.S.A. adhere to treaties. It's not an academic debate. The president of Ghana, Akufo-Addo is allowing the US to operate a military base within its borders, and simultaneously making a semantic argument that he isn't. The abstract will be enough for some, but quoting 1960s Al Wilson lyrics warrant a deeper dive.

'Trump's Big Lie' was a genuinely strong analysis written before the attempted putsch and with great foresight. But the article 'Was 9/11 An Inside Job?' kind of drags down the mood in the room. I appreciate that Turning the Tide has the chutzpah to publish a rebuttal article, but a full page on this tired conspiracy is overmuch. Like Sasquatch and trickle-down economics, that mythology has had more than enough airtime. The Betteridge law applies here: Any headline that ends in a question mark can be answered by the word "No."
(Jose Fritz)

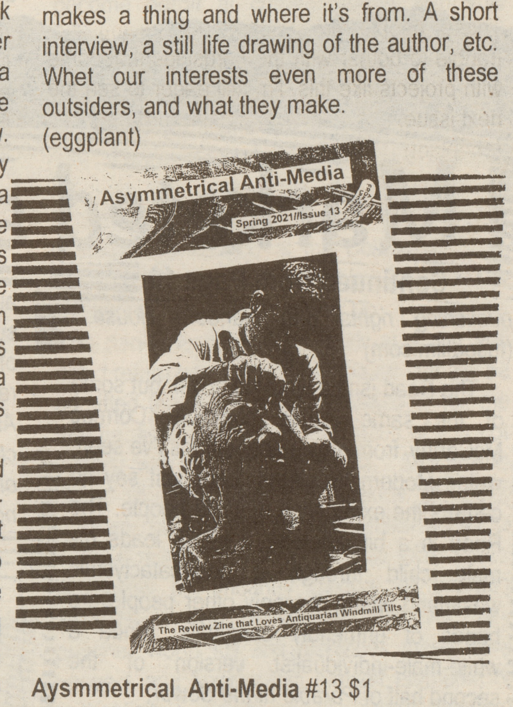


**Node Pajomo** # 2.6
Attn: Box Holder
PO Box 2632
Bellingham, WA 98227-2632

Most people will pick this up and be pretty confused. 36 pages filled only with reviews of things with funny names. Well some of the pages of text are interrupted by old photos captioned with bits of dadaistic writing. Total confusion. This is a functional document for a particular segment of freakiness. It's a directory of outsider art, underground pamphleteers, zines, tape traders, mail art. It's where you go when you got some stamps and a desire to see something unusual come to your address.

It's a one-man operation here. We don't know who it is but they sign off as "PJM". And the guy is losing steam. For good reason. It's an exhaustive effort. Every item is given consideration. Even if the music makes his ears ring or if the zine written in French just passes through his eyes and skips his brain. Passages from this issue skipped my brain a few times and I had to reread some parts. It got better the 2nd time.

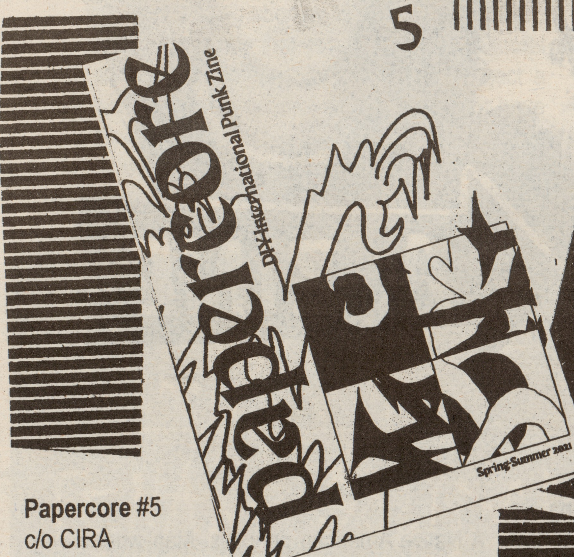
If I could suggest to the editor two ways to entice people more: one would be to reprint the covers or some piece of notable artwork from these items. You know, the whole show not tell. I have often read a review of something in other zines then looked at the cover they reprinted and *wanted* to read about the thing. The other thing to do is more ambitious. Every issue he could stretch out a review or general write-up, highlighting who makes a thing and where it's from. A short interview, a still life drawing of the author, etc. Whet our interests even more of these outsiders, and what they make.
(eggplant)



**Aysmmetrical Anti-Media** #13 $1
PO Box 10894
Albany NY 12201

This one is filled with reviews — much like Node Pajomo but with not as many things to read. Less to clutter your head. Compiled by Jason Rodgers who is also a critical theorist that bends towards surrealism. He usually channels this in manifestos and collage art — though this time around the pages are just processing zines, tapes, mail art, CD's & books. Some titles include: French Werewolves, Cryptic Stench, Wite Out, Synapse,: a zine about Mental Health, Catharsis, The Secret of the Moon's Rotation, Communicating Vessels, Forgotten Memories.
(eggplant)

# ZINE-O-PHOBE



fifth estate
Demand the Impossible
What's Next?

fifth estate
We Won't Back Down!

**Papercore** #5
c/o CIRA
50 rue Consolat
13001 Marseille France

It's worth being excited to see a new issue. It has a punk edge. Consistent. Large format so lots of space. The cover is always silk screened, this time with 3 colors. Always seems to be international. This one has voices from Burma, Spain, France & England -- probably more. All written in English. Some of it is translated so goofy words & sentences surface at times. The zine is open to contributors but not to being reprinted on the internet. The fighting spirit put on paper that's worth up holding.

I found this issue disappointing though. It starts with a lashing of a punk scene celebrity for being abusive, then you get a report on bands playing around France with everything just listed off with no illumination of what their sounds evoke or who is moved by it. Then questions to punks in Burma of what its like being punk under military oppression, and then perspectives of a sketch artist filling up time during social distancing lockdown. Vegan recipes and zine reviews wrap up the last pages. Nothing outstanding this time but...maybe you have something for it next issue. The writing this time around made me think that its by people who came to punk from some pre-fabricated place. It didn't come across wild. Free. It's been awhile since zines and newsspapers were made by such people. Those people are usually out getting into trouble to bother with the hardships that come with projects like this. I'm still eager to see the next issue.
(eggplant)

NO TOUCHING

**No Touching** $4
antiquatedfuture.com

I think I don't like poetry. The Slingshot collective has a lame policy of not liking poetry. But for different reasons. I find it hard to invest in re-reading books and shit. Re-reading is the secret sauce to unraveling delight and awe from poetry. My problem is I'm this consuming machine — always going forward. But perhaps if I lived in Slab City or some place more sparse on info and stimuli I could invest the time needed to appreciate the art form. Thankfully this zine is very brief so in some ways it's like a Zen koan or a set from a rockin' band that is on stage just long enough to make you want more. Also the unusual shape makes it stand out. One of the three pieces here is heavy with grief. Oh man no wonder why poetry is hard to read. Proceeds of this goes to the Berkeley Free Clinic. When people go there to check for STDs they should be given a copy of *No Touching*. OK Bad Joke.
(eggplant)

fifth estate

**Fifth Estate** Fall 2020
$15 per year - 4 issues
PO Box 201016
Ferndale, MI 48220

Published political writing always strikes me as implicitly hopeful. Hope is a complicated human phenomenon. The hopeful all believe that that the human capacity for change is real and that their cause is just and can prevail. So where cynics and misanthropes alternately see a gritty brand of optimism by virtue of merely existing.

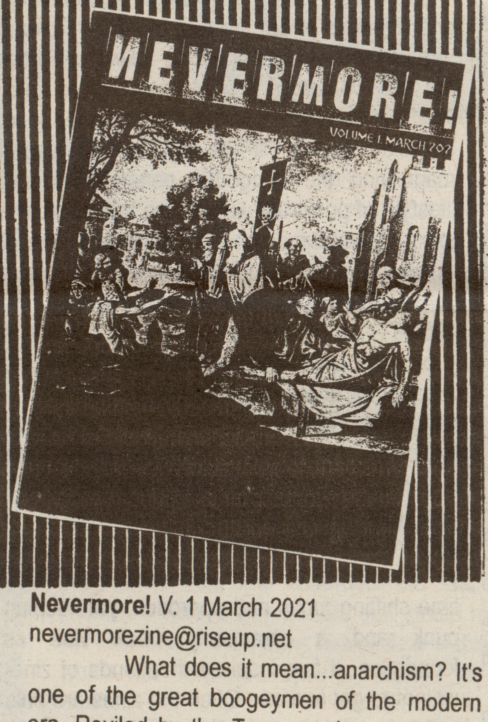
By extension, Rui Preti and Stephen Cline don't examine Minneapolis street protests for purely detached academic reasons. This is live from the trenches. They're advocating for meaningful reforms. [Cline for his part writes like a poet, which is apropos as he also co-edits the very artful journal *Peculiar Mormyrid*.] Frank Joyce explores The 1619 Project. Bruce Trigg discusses the success and failure of the U.S. public health system in its mixed Covid-19 response. Fran Shor hits the same topic in great depth, drawing strength in the metaphors from the book *The Plague* by Albert Camus. While they all condemn institutional failures, they praise civic solidarity in equal measure. Shor wasn't alone in realizing the parallels there, but he had a more didactic and constructive vision than Vox and the Boston Review. Bill Weinberg's 'Two Faces of Fascism' was just potent and insightful. You can lose a whole afternoon reading this way.

But by comparison, derisive anti-civ articles like Steve Kirk's 'Life and Rewilding in the Pandemic' strike a dissonant chord. Hyperbole is inherently ironic and therefore cynical. However unpleasant cubicles may be, referring to them as "foam-insulated death-boxes of efficiency" are difficult to take seriously.

The emotional value of celebrating civil disobedience, or an alternative lifestyle is very different from wallowing in being disaffected and/or marginalized. Sure, obstacles and opposition are very real, and so is the sense of loss. But the other side of the equation is far more potent in effecting change. Fifth Estate is at its very best when it plays to that strength. On a good day it's a testament to hope, resistance, and humanity. Thank you for coming to my TED talk.
(Jose Fritz)

**Shades of Glass In Your Eye** #16 $3
PO Box 7831 Beverly Hills, CA. 90212

A couple decades ago, a Midwest absurdist moved to Los Angeles and started this zine, blending journal-like observations, jokes and activities. She throws everything at the wall, endeavoring to delight readers and cause a giggle. A lot of it is quite silly given its highlight here in an activist paper. But as the man says, "Warriors....Come out and play-yay!"
(eggplant)



**Nevermore!** V. 1 March 2021
nevermorezine@riseup.net

What does it mean...anarchism? It's one of the great boogeymen of the modern era. Reviled by the Trump regime and those who wish to protect the statues of the war state. There must be something about anarchist thought or action that is really really dangerous. Well, you won't find it in this issue. No, the purpose of the 28 pages here is in contemplating Covid 19 and how governments worldwide use similar measures to curtail our freedom in the name of the dreaded virus. There is a lot of opposition here to lockdowns, social distancing, surveillance and screen time. There's also plenty of energy eviscerating governments but very little in the way of figuring what the world will look like without them or how to get there. An age old problem, but given the latest untenable crisis everyone is up against, pretty essential.

The eleven articles are mixed in quality. Made up of international communiques (Chile, Canada, Greece, USA) so at least two of them have the excuse of being translated into English. In many spots, the writing is generic radical jargon. Be prepared to labor through fistwaving at "technocrats,' "corporate executives," "bureaucrats," the media and sold-out scientists. Its the language of alienation. There's one argument questioning scientists and some study. If this makes you yawn like it does me, hang in there — at times there is some good ideas. Like simple observations how fear and shame is ruling the day in everyone's obedience to power.

Most of the writing doesn't have a name attached to it, what is referred to with the phrase "by-line". Maybe not a problem for some readers...but man, that one article completely written in the first person; GET OUT OF MY HEAD WILL YOU

The first person form of writing isn't so great; especially when an article dwells on ideas that are disagreeable or badly organized. Having no one attached to a piece of writing really conveys that no one is in fact writing it. Isn't there some AI program that ghost writes anarchist rants by now? Having a name to a piece of writing gives some sense of where it is coming from in much the same way when publications puts a date and address to their work. Perhaps by subverting this, it is an attempt to seem universal. The whole thing feels like it came from the universe. Man.

The other wasted space here is two pieces of what some people would call poems. One resembles a series of slogans and the other resembles the time that crazy person unloaded their anxiety by ranting at me nonstop. Not the poetry of symbols and decorated communication, of meaning that can reach people across time and country and compel them into contemplation. Here is the poetry of a busted ass cafe open mic.

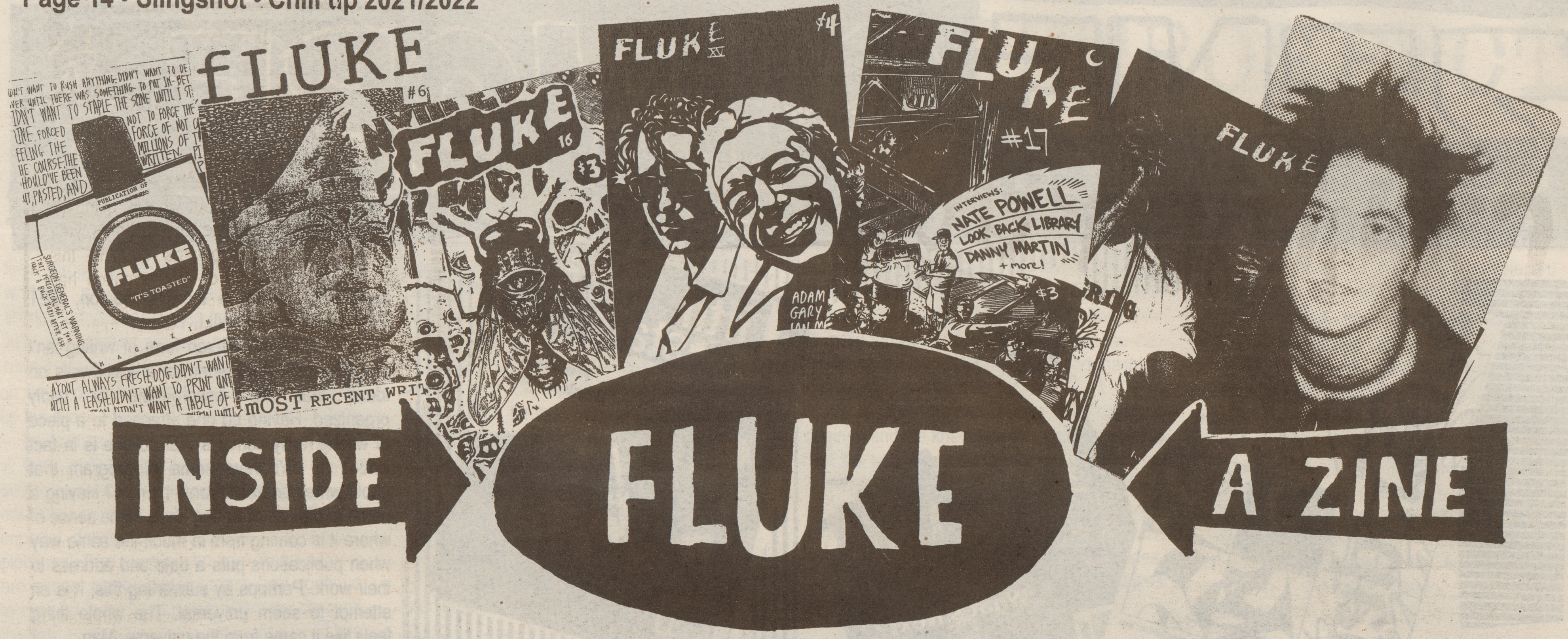
That's the worst of it. Some people will eat it up. Those who hunger for Crimethinc-like grand statements into vagueness, the quasi academic flag burning and killing of inner cops, the sort of anonymous zines you see at the free table at the fringes of fringe book fairs will be at home here. And hey!! it looks good. The pages are large with ample room for big words that you dont have to squint to read. Its tastefully balanced with lots of graphics-- some of which are original and in full color. Oh yeah, it's glossy. Full-color Glossy. So kinda like a museum catalog more than the work made from a speed-freak pirating copies from a corporation xerox machine. If they keep the presentation up and their fight-the-system thrust....and maybe work on the writing and ideas some...this may become essential reading.

The March issue arrived right when *Slingshot* and the rest of the Bay Area entered into the vaccination phase of the pandemic. A complete shift went across the land at this time, taking us from house arrest to curtailed freedoms. This publication was immediately hard to read for it spoke of a world people were trying quick to forget. The No Hugs Goodbye, No Bars or Sport Events World. People having to cut their own fucking hair or have their fucking kids sleep in on a Monday. That world was expected to go away with the Orange Menace. But this folly is what comes with doing print projects in the age of constant instant news. It's old before you write it.

Another failed aspect is how it misses to peer into the paradox of the pandemic. Dare I say it....shit like how in 2019 wearing a mask at protests was edging closer to being an act of terror...then after the great world-wide lockdown...and still to this day...its the norm for normies to mask up at protests -- or otherwise. And I think they're starting to like it. Could it be that common people are coming closer to anarchist practices? That's why this review opens with asking "what is anarchism?" Is it just disguising your face from cops, Proud Boys and the Whole Foods theft management? Is it graffiti? Is it free mass transit? Is it publishing something only a dozen people can understand?

How are we just repeating what somebody else said was the way to go?

Does this anarchism that we are celebrating transgress outside the borders of its cage in Wikipedia? The subtitle of Nevermore! is it's a "Journal of Heresy and Thoughtcrime." This issue didn't have much of either. But if we keep watching it, perhaps we will be outraged out of inaction from their pages to come.
(eggplant)



# INSIDE FLUKE A ZINE

By Carrion Baggage

In an interview in *Sluice* zine Matt Thompson is being given space to celebrate his own zine. Zines interviewing zines seems like a setup to a joke. But Matt is old and accomplished — he's not taking his time here frivolously.

He describes making the first issue of *Fluke* with his friends as well as the second issue a year later. "1992 saw a huge influx of zines." And for sure, the whole decade was like a wildfire cutting across the land. Thousands of people were motivated to get out their ideas, stories, personality and anything else they could onto paper. This spark reached Matt and Co. all the way to the remote flatlands & hills of Arkansas. The fact that numerous grassroots spaces like info shops self-identify as "zine libraries/making space" hints at the force at play. Given that was 30 years ago, there's always an excuse why it's not the same today. The internet. Deforestation. Ego Trips Are Bad for Children (and other living Beings too)

*Fluke* made only five issues during the '90s, when it seemed like everyone made a zine. It was later, when most people ran to video and web design, that he came back and intensified his efforts in publishing. Matt's life was in disarray; a failed love relationship, struggles with addiction, becoming a parent and the general problems of life made him double down on what inspired him to act. The return to *Fluke* helped to signify the music he loved, the diaspora of Little Rock freaks and the uplifting of other creative projects from graffiti to underground film.

Matt recently came to the East Bay upon the release of *Fluke* #19 which is a beast of a new issue. It shows how sustained effort makes results. "I started this issue in December 2018. I did two issues since then as well as starting a publishing company where I published ten other zines. (Which includes works from Phoenix artist NXOEED, Hawaiian punker New Wave Chicken and fallen wild man Matt Limo Zine). "This has been something I've been working on in the background (the whole time)."

Matt is a tall guy with a large frame. Almost a mini giant. His speech is languid with hints of a Southern twang but not quite with the generic flourish you get with a speaker from the Mississippi or Texas. It's a voice of a laborer who plows through tasks. His words are measured. "And then dealing with self doubt...dealing with any type of personal issues I may have had at the time. Those always come into play."

Issue #19 has none of the dear diary personal demons of its maker often associated with '90s zines. The new issue is interviews with people who make Mail Art — that is art sent through the post office. A niche scene of creators not too far from the punk scene that he dedicated the previous eighteen issues. He describes the commonality being "People sharing ideas and art." Many of those he interviewed first heard about Mail Art in the early 1970s in an article in Rolling Stone Magazine. It is an underground art movement who has slowly attracted new practitioners over time & space.

"They are strangers at first but become friends and form common bonds. They share couch space. They travel and do events across the country...and in the world." This issue talks to people in San Francisco, Vancouver, Sweden & Japan. Some of whom felt their work at the time was outside the mainstream definition of "Fine Art" but are also content to be where they are.

"People tell me I have no audience for Mail Art — its not really gonna work out. There have been times I wanted to throw it in the trash and not even do it."

Zines often cover "who cares" type of things and attempts to get the rest of us to. *Fluke* is one of the many publications taking cue from the zine *Cometbus* in content as well as form. The first issues of that zine championed local Berkeley bands. It quickly led to pages magnifying the hangouts, personalities and lifestyle of punks as well as the freaks around town. *Cometbus* came from & covered one of America's most offbeat grassroots communities that was transformed by the 1960's -- as it went through a slow boil into a yuppie MK Ultra soup of today. It took the Bay Area funk, style and intelligence outside the imaginary bubble. It helped popularize exploring new cities, dumpster diving and overdosing on coffee. It's one thing to proclaim "revolution" and a whole 'nother thing to demonstrate it. *Cometbus* turned forty in 2021, yet it continues to be in production. This whole time shifting focus and approach, yet keeping punk and a community freak vibe as foundation. It has inspired thousands of zine-writers to get to work. Often the zines are pale imitators, making the same things *Cometbus* writes about seem lifeless, dull and self indulgent. Ah '90s zines. Fluke started off looking like *Cometbus* but with issue #19 it is making a firm step up. The new issue shows how good it is to bust out of a niche scene playing with mirrors. It's not just a zine interviewing zines or punks doing secret handshakes to other punks.

"Gathering all the information, piecing it all together...It's been a labor of love for me. I love to persevere and see it come to fruition. I love to prove my own self-doubt wrong. It came out way better than I imagined."

Matt @ Indian Rock photo by robert eggplant

The new issue is surprisingly handsome. Many pages are full color and on glossy paper. None of the interviews are overly long or repetitive. And the whole thing is priced in the $5 range — to counter the trend of everyone raising prices and lowering quality. A path that new zines seem to follow to only end up having their hard work be ignored.

In the tradition of the subject matter of Mail Art, each issue has a cool old stamp posted inside. But the fun of making a zine doesn't end so easily. "This is just half-way through the process." Meaning sending out orders, visiting stores that carry zines and other such tasks. At one point Matt endeavored to send out a piece of mail each day. Not just zines but letters, postcards — you know the things people do with their phones these days. This eventually lead to Matt's adventure to find caches of unused stamps in the numerous estate sales on hand. An activity necessitated by the outrageous fee increases forwarded by the Trump-appointed Postmaster General Louis DeJoy (everyone hiss). It's a lot of work that only a few people appreciate.

FLUKE
#19
$5
MAIL ART

Matt's visit to the Bay Area brings to mind the historic visit of first wave English punk band The Clash. In between shows they were taken to Mt. Tamalpais. It is one of the Bay Area's most distinctive landmarks whose shape is said to be that of a woman reclining. A Native American princess. Man what a way of first meeting California. In busted-ass homage Matt was taken to Indian Rock — a place he had never seen despite his love for the area. Outside of the North Berkeley Pegasus Books (where they refused to carry his or any zine on their shelf) — with it's small town sleepy suburb thing going on it is a short but steep climb to reach. Another world is there above the trees and roofs. Line of sight to the Golden Gate Bridge, "the City", Oakland...Richmond, Marin and the aforementioned Mt. Tam. It's good to get a little high after a bunch of long days laboring over these art projects. And what a spot to contemplate this "civilization" that we fight for AND against everyday. It's daunting to think sometimes where it's all going — but a whole 'nother thing to think how short of a time it's been this way. All this human development....-barely 150 years. Often we hope for change to make improvements on our condition only to be met with the joke being on those who care.

With the advent of access to the cheaper technology of the last twenty five years, we had a short run where activist organizations were in full bloom against the big corporations (Anyone remember Indy Media?) Only for these last few years to see an explosion of small time thugs doing startup media and pushing the right wing opinion forever and ever Amen. The new indy media of today is funded by the Koch Brothers, Raytheon and Bayer.

The Clash made it to Mt. Tam from the dire conditions of 1970s England. Poverty. Racism. War. Perhaps society was really gonna collapse at the time. A toxic cocktail that a small group of friends transformed into something that helped them get out of the prison of their world and to the other side of the planet. In the process they reach millions of dissatisfied people who were ready to give up. Their music and the movement of the moment gave them a way outta no way. Though *Fluke* zine started as a small group like a band, it says much how one person continues to do it. Much like how *Slingshot* as one person (because let's be real, presently it's not really a collective) is able to make things happen and open doors for other people struggling. The threat of collapse is very much on people's mind today.

-"Its funny doing a magazine-a publication..it always seems to drive itself. It directs me where it wants to go and I listen to it. It's good to build something from the ground up. And now that it's out it is half-way through the lifespan."

Back home where he lives now in Phoenix, Arizona— it is a life without much fanfare for the maker of a fanzine. Day job, kids, and, at best, trips to the post office downtown where he can then celebrate the day at his favorite cafe. As Matt is filling orders for zines he dreams out loud about future issues of *Fluke*. Is anyone else thinking positively about the future?

...Um, show not tell

### echoes from our golden age of

# radical podcasts

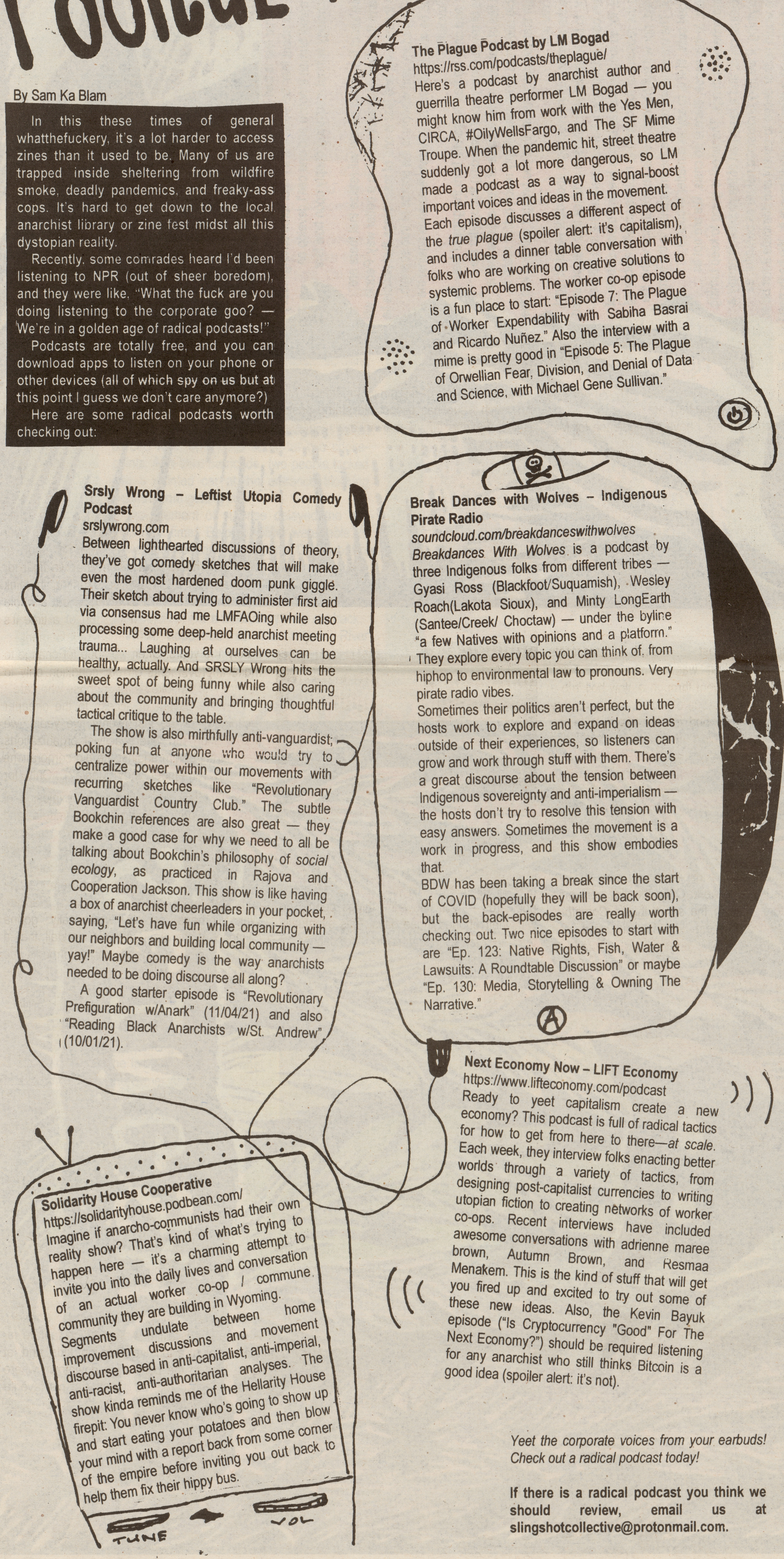
By Sam Ka Blam

In this these times of general whatthefuckery, it's a lot harder to access zines than it used to be. Many of us are trapped inside sheltering from wildfire smoke, deadly pandemics, and freaky-ass cops. It's hard to get down to the local anarchist library or zine fest midst all this dystopian reality.

Recently, some comrades heard I'd been listening to NPR (out of sheer boredom), and they were like, "What the fuck are you doing listening to the corporate goo? — We're in a golden age of radical podcasts!"

Podcasts are totally free, and you can download apps to listen on your phone or other devices (all of which spy on us but at this point I guess we don't care anymore?)

Here are some radical podcasts worth checking out:



**The Plague Podcast by LM Bogad**
https://rss.com/podcasts/theplague/

Here's a podcast by anarchist author and guerrilla theatre performer LM Bogad — you might know him from work with the Yes Men, CIRCA, #OilyWellsFargo, and The SF Mime Troupe. When the pandemic hit, street theatre suddenly got a lot more dangerous, so LM made a podcast as a way to signal-boost important voices and ideas in the movement. Each episode discusses a different aspect of the *true plague* (spoiler alert: it's capitalism), and includes a dinner table conversation with folks who are working on creative solutions to systemic problems. The worker co-op episode is a fun place to start: "Episode 7: The Plague of Worker Expendability with Sabiha Basrai and Ricardo Nuñez." Also the interview with a mime is pretty good in "Episode 5: The Plague of Orwellian Fear, Division, and Denial of Data and Science, with Michael Gene Sullivan."

**Srsly Wrong – Leftist Utopia Comedy Podcast**
srslywrong.com

Between lighthearted discussions of theory, they've got comedy sketches that will make even the most hardened doom punk giggle. Their sketch about trying to administer first aid via consensus had me LMFAOing while also processing some deep-held anarchist meeting trauma... Laughing at ourselves can be healthy, actually. And SRSLY Wrong hits the sweet spot of being funny while also caring about the community and bringing thoughtful tactical critique to the table.

The show is also mirthfully anti-vanguardist; poking fun at anyone who would try to centralize power within our movements with recurring sketches like "Revolutionary Vanguardist Country Club." The subtle Bookchin references are also great — they make a good case for why we need to all be talking about Bookchin's philosophy of *social ecology*, as practiced in Rajova and Cooperation Jackson. This show is like having a box of anarchist cheerleaders in your pocket, saying, "Let's have fun while organizing with our neighbors and building local community — yay!" Maybe comedy is the way anarchists needed to be doing discourse all along?

A good starter episode is "Revolutionary Prefiguration w/Anark" (11/04/21) and also "Reading Black Anarchists w/St. Andrew" (10/01/21).

**Break Dances with Wolves – Indigenous Pirate Radio**
*soundcloud.com/breakdanceswithwolves*

*Breakdances With Wolves* is a podcast by three Indigenous folks from different tribes — Gyasi Ross (Blackfoot/Suquamish), Wesley Roach(Lakota Sioux), and Minty LongEarth (Santee/Creek/ Choctaw) — under the byline "a few Natives with opinions and a platform." They explore every topic you can think of, from hiphop to environmental law to pronouns. Very pirate radio vibes.

Sometimes their politics aren't perfect, but the hosts work to explore and expand on ideas outside of their experiences, so listeners can grow and work through stuff with them. There's a great discourse about the tension between Indigenous sovereignty and anti-imperialism — the hosts don't try to resolve this tension with easy answers. Sometimes the movement is a work in progress, and this show embodies that.

BDW has been taking a break since the start of COVID (hopefully they will be back soon), but the back-episodes are really worth checking out. Two nice episodes to start with are "Ep. 123: Native Rights, Fish, Water & Lawsuits: A Roundtable Discussion" or maybe "Ep. 130: Media, Storytelling & Owning The Narrative."

**Next Economy Now – LIFT Economy**
https://www.lifteconomy.com/podcast

Ready to yeet capitalism create a new economy? This podcast is full of radical tactics for how to get from here to there—*at scale.* Each week, they interview folks enacting better worlds through a variety of tactics, from designing post-capitalist currencies to writing utopian fiction to creating networks of worker co-ops. Recent interviews have included awesome conversations with adrienne maree brown, Autumn Brown, and Resmaa Menakem. This is the kind of stuff that will get you fired up and excited to try out some of these new ideas. Also, the Kevin Bayuk episode ("Is Cryptocurrency "Good" For The Next Economy?") should be required listening for any anarchist who still thinks Bitcoin is a good idea (spoiler alert: it's not).

**Solidarity House Cooperative**
https://solidarityhouse.podbean.com/

Imagine if anarcho-communists had their own reality show? That's kind of what's trying to happen here — it's a charming attempt to invite you into the daily lives and conversation of an actual worker co-op / commune community they are building in Wyoming. Segments undulate between home improvement discussions and movement discourse based in anti-capitalist, anti-imperial, anti-racist, anti-authoritarian analyses. The show kinda reminds me of the Hellarity House firepit: You never know who's going to show up and start eating your potatoes and then blow your mind with a report back from some corner of the empire before inviting you out back to help them fix their hippy bus.

*Yeet the corporate voices from your earbuds! Check out a radical podcast today!*

**If there is a radical podcast you think we should review, email us at slingshotcollective@protonmail.com.**

## BOOK REVIEW

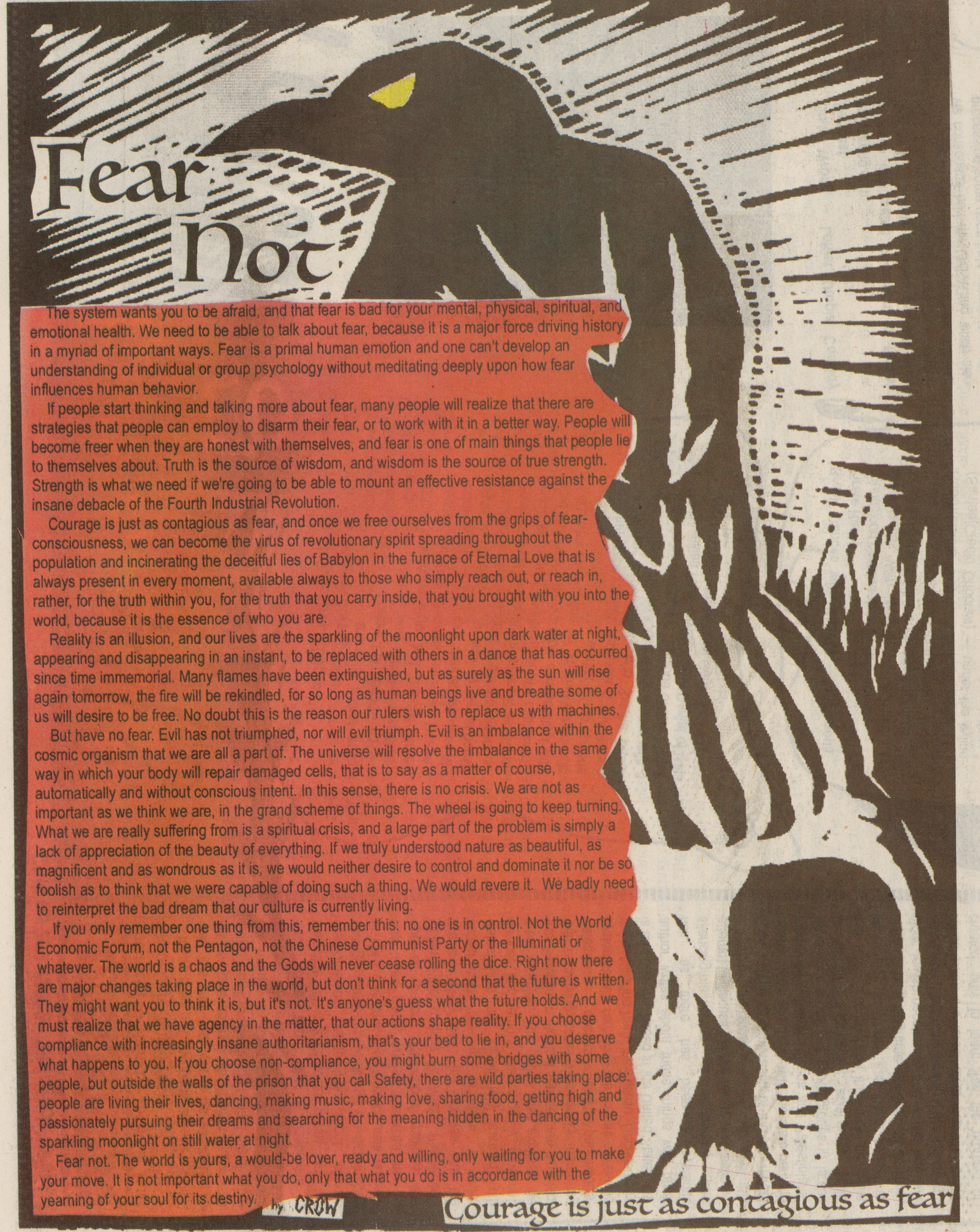
***The Right to Maim* by Jasbir K. Puar (Duke University Press)**

If you read just one book about Palestine, read this one. Yes, it can be exhausting to discuss or even think about what is going on there. Yet, if you live in the United States, your tax money is going towards creating this situation. A great deal of disinformation has been spread about what is happening in Palestine, at a level even worse than the disinformation campaigns about climate change. Since the creation of the Israeli state in 1948, a regime of extreme colonial violence has taken place, turning Palestine into an open-air prison. This book explores the violence that roughly 6.8 million Palestinians live with every day. This includes what the author calls "the right to maim," in which Palestinians are intentionally harmed with devices that remove their mobility, rendering them disabled. The author also explores the way Palestinian medical services are targeted, with occupying forces intentionally murdering Palestinian doctors and paramedics, systematically removing the means of healing the debilitating harm they cause. Because she is an academic based in the United States, the author writes about these things with great risk, as there has been a systemic silencing/blacklisting of academics who attempt to discuss the conditions in Palestine.

Perhaps the most shocking details of this book include its exploration of the way Israel enacts literal apartheid, with the state banning marriages between citizens and Palestinians, while state-sponsored youth groups in Israeli are tasked with defending "racial purity." While it is rarely discussed on the news, the white supremacy in Israel has been known to activists for a long time—in Oakland we have older Jewish people with darker skin who fled Israel after mistakenly moving there from North Africa when the Israel state was first being created, only to learn that the promise of freedom for Jewish people was a lie: darker skinned Jewish folks weren't (and still aren't) welcome in Israel. It is a white supremacist ethno-state.

This book explores many ways that white supremacy continues in Israel today, with legal practices that would make even Americans blush, such as the practice in Israel to require Chinese laborers who enter the country to sign a contract that they will not have sex with Israeli women, a practice stemming from paranoia about creating mixed-race babies. Israel's racist regime that resembles the types of things other countries wish weren't part of their history... If we are truly ashamed of white supremacy, colonialism, and genocide, why are the United States, are we funding Israel? If we care about disabled people, why are we funding a regime that intentionally renders people disabled?

This book is like reading a hundred newspaper articles—it is packed with stories that would be in the news if not for the present regime of censorship. The book's chapters are somewhat out of order (perhaps a symptom of having to sneak this information through). Ignore the dense academic jargon in the beginning. For best results, read this book's chapters backwards, starting with the postscript. (Review by Leaf)



# Fear Not

The system wants you to be afraid, and that fear is bad for your mental, physical, spiritual, and emotional health. We need to be able to talk about fear, because it is a major force driving history in a myriad of important ways. Fear is a primal human emotion and one can't develop an understanding of individual or group psychology without meditating deeply upon how fear influences human behavior.

If people start thinking and talking more about fear, many people will realize that there are strategies that people can employ to disarm their fear, or to work with it in a better way. People will become freer when they are honest with themselves, and fear is one of main things that people lie to themselves about. Truth is the source of wisdom, and wisdom is the source of true strength. Strength is what we need if we're going to be able to mount an effective resistance against the insane debacle of the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

Courage is just as contagious as fear, and once we free ourselves from the grips of fear-consciousness, we can become the virus of revolutionary spirit spreading throughout the population and incinerating the deceitful lies of Babylon in the furnace of Eternal Love that is always present in every moment, available always to those who simply reach out, or reach in, rather, for the truth within you, for the truth that you carry inside, that you brought with you into the world, because it is the essence of who you are.

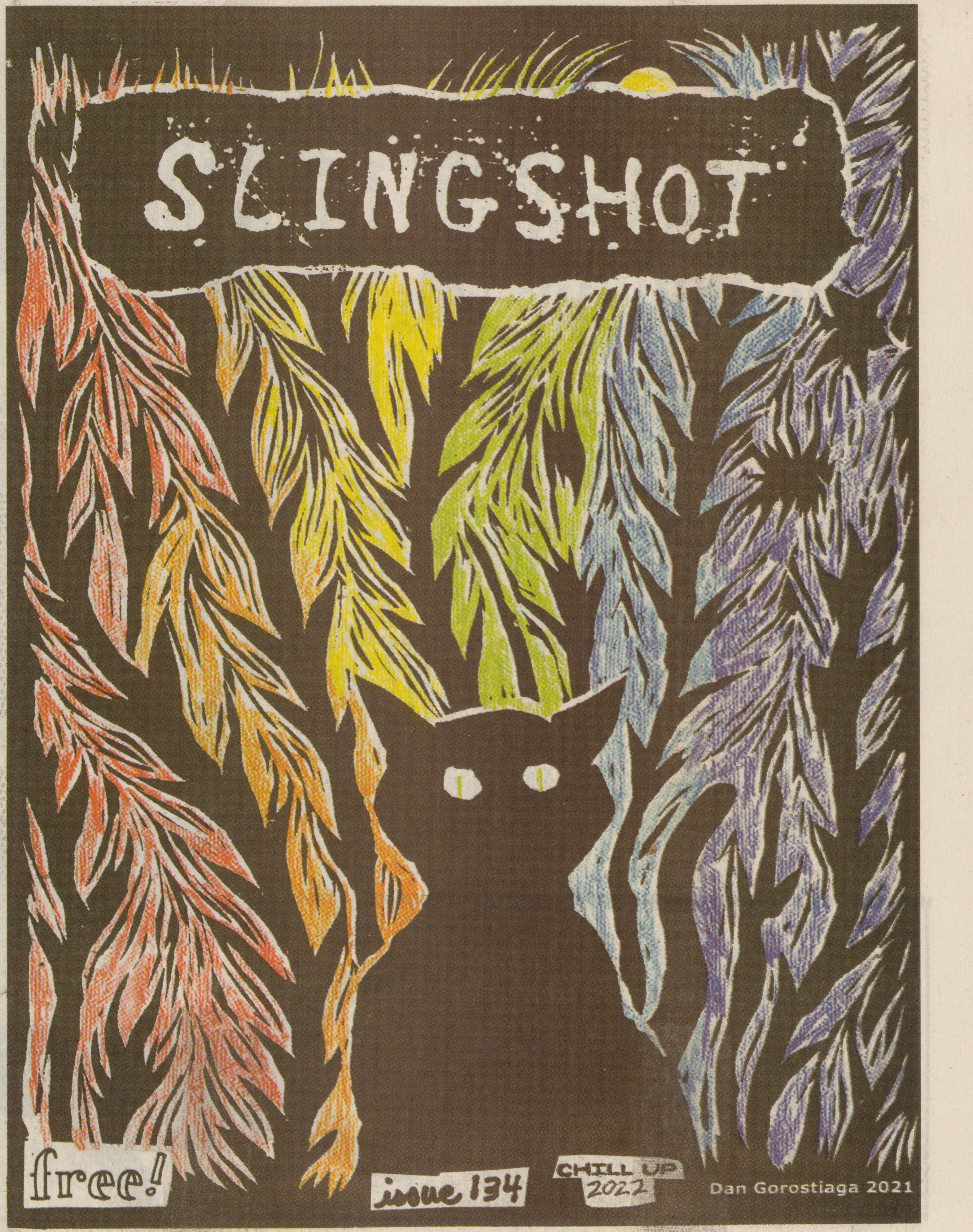
Reality is an illusion, and our lives are the sparkling of the moonlight upon dark water at night, appearing and disappearing in an instant, to be replaced with others in a dance that has occurred since time immemorial. Many flames have been extinguished, but as surely as the sun will rise again tomorrow, the fire will be rekindled, for so long as human beings live and breathe some of us will desire to be free. No doubt this is the reason our rulers wish to replace us with machines.

But have no fear. Evil has not triumphed, nor will evil triumph. Evil is an imbalance within the cosmic organism that we are all a part of. The universe will resolve the imbalance in the same way in which your body will repair damaged cells, that is to say as a matter of course, automatically and without conscious intent. In this sense, there is no crisis. We are not as important as we think we are, in the grand scheme of things. The wheel is going to keep turning. What we are really suffering from is a spiritual crisis, and a large part of the problem is simply a lack of appreciation of the beauty of everything. If we truly understood nature as beautiful, as magnificent and as wondrous as it is, we would neither desire to control and dominate it nor be so foolish as to think that we were capable of doing such a thing. We would revere it. We badly need to reinterpret the bad dream that our culture is currently living.

If you only remember one thing from this, remember this: no one is in control. Not the World Economic Forum, not the Pentagon, not the Chinese Communist Party or the Illuminati or whatever. The world is a chaos and the Gods will never cease rolling the dice. Right now there are major changes taking place in the world, but don't think for a second that the future is written. They might want you to think it is, but it's not. It's anyone's guess what the future holds. And we must realize that we have agency in the matter, that our actions shape reality. If you choose compliance with increasingly insane authoritarianism, that's your bed to lie in, and you deserve what happens to you. If you choose non-compliance, you might burn some bridges with some people, but outside the walls of the prison that you call Safety, there are wild parties taking place: people are living their lives, dancing, making music, making love, sharing food, getting high and passionately pursuing their dreams and searching for the meaning hidden in the dancing of the sparkling moonlight on still water at night.

Fear not. The world is yours, a would-be lover, ready and willing, only waiting for you to make your move. It is not important what you do, only that what you do is in accordance with the yearning of your soul for its destiny.

by CROW

Courage is just as contagious as fear